

INSIDE: British Columbia's political strike

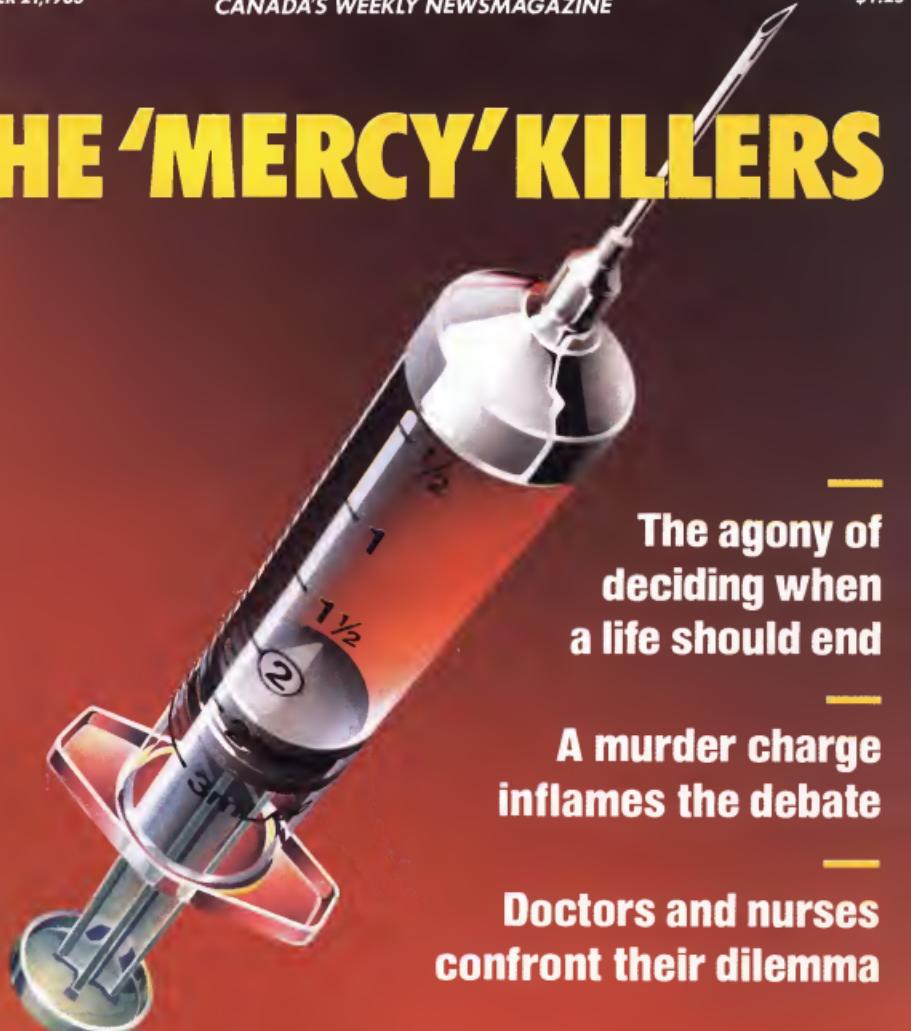
Maclean's

NOVEMBER 21, 1983

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

\$1.25

THE 'MERCY' KILLERS



**The agony of
deciding when
a life should end**

**A murder charge
inflames the debate**

**Doctors and nurses
confront their dilemma**





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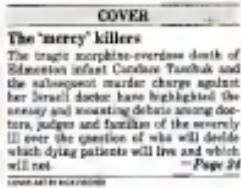
The eclipse of Arafat

U.S., Israeli and Syrian forces stood poised for new violence in the Middle East, but the real drama centred on the pressure on PLO leader Yasser Arafat. — Page 32



Lutheran Catholicism

He inspired the Protestant Reformation, but 500 years after his birth Martin Luther's adherents are moving closer to Catholicism with the Pope's blessing. — Page 49



COVER
The "mercy" killers

The tragic asperges-overdose death of Edmonton infant Candace Tashuk and the subsequent murder charge against her Israeli doctor have highlighted the anxiety and mounting debate among doctors, judges and families of the mentally ill over the question of who will decide which dying patients will live and which will not. — Page 21

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British Columbia divided

The province endured a second week of strikes as teachers joined civil servants in a dispute that threatened to paralyse British Columbia. — Page 18



Fit queen for a crown

Last week 23-year-old Cynthia Kereluk had already packed her bags to return to Edmonton when she learned that she had become the new Miss Canada. — Page 49



A costly confrontation

The need for dramatic economic restraint is a difficult reality to swallow for members of generations raised in the belief that their world was one of limitless expansion and opportunity. Some of us still question the validity of a theory that prescribes a simplistic squeezing of the money supply, the withdrawal of essential services and mass layoffs as an effective means of preserving economic stability. Still, opinion polls show that the vast majority of Canadians are now willing to accept that economic mismanagement by successive governments has left us no choice but to make sacrifices.

But British Columbia Premier William Bennett



Legge and O'Hearn intervening ethically at a world of new limits

chose to push that willingness beyond acceptable norms. He acted in a way that no responsible business leader would even consider. He decided to adopt a sweeping set of draconian cost-cutting measures virtually overnight and in the process he challenged the province's powerful unions to bend to his will. For their part, the unions reacted in kind, and without a great deal of reason. The result has been one of the nation's costliest—and most avoidable—confrontations in decades.

To report and write this week's report on the showdown, Calgary Bureau Chief Gordon Legge joined his colleague in Vancouver, Jane O'Hearn. Said O'Hearn: "It was a confusing mix of labor problems and social protest. Those problems will remain."

Ken Doyle

Maclean's, November 21, 1985

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Equal menaces

Macdonald is to be congratulated for his critical editorial comments on the U.S. invasion of Grenada. (Reagan's war crusade, From the editor's desk, Nov. 7) This invasion was conducted with the finest excuse that it was needed to ensure the safety of U.S. citizens, although they had already been promised safe routes from the country and in fact it increased the possibility of danger to them. From our perspective, the real purpose was not very different from that of the Soviet's invasion of Afghanistan. The Cuban purpose in Grenada remains uncertain as far as public knowledge is concerned, but could it have been much worse than U.S. operations against Nicaragua? Traditionally we have criticized Communist regimes with good reason, but in terms of oppression of weaker peoples and support of independent governments, the differences between the United States and the Communists are vanishing.

—GEORGE A. REILLY,
Halifax

My first reaction to President Ronald Reagan's invasion of Grenada was "how shrilly this steps!" The Western world has had the Soviets on the run (in the so-called court of public opinion) since December, 1979, when the latter invaded Afghanistan. In passing, I wonder if anyone has noticed the mathematical progression of invasions by the superpowers in the past three decades? In 1964 the United States invaded Guatemala, and two years later the Soviets invaded Czechoslovakia. In 1965 U.S. Marines hit the beaches of the



Marines in Grenada: a country in peril?

Dominican Republic, and three years later the Soviet Union went into Czechoslovakia. In 1979 the Soviets invaded Afghanistan. Four years later the United States invaded Grenada. Perhaps it was all beyond Reagan's control if he were to keep alive the mathematical progression, so he had to invade somewhere this year. Let's be happy it was not us. —ROBERT LAURENCE,
Birch Ridge, N.B.

My wife and I were in Canada on the first day of the U.S. military action in Grenada and for a week afterward. We were amazed by Canada's rush to judgment. Gerald Regan, acting minister for external affairs, spoke for the Canadian government. He immediately proclaimed that the "invasion" was unpatriotic. Sir Paul Bocan, the attorney general, has publicly stated that the attack was justified, and Grenadians greeted the American Regan and Macdonald with enthusiasm and relief. There was much understanding, something that is apparently not widely understood in Canada: that country was a dire peril of becoming a police state. —MATTHEW R. WILLIS,
Colorado Springs, Colo.

PASSAGES

CONVICTION: Rep. Eliot, 72, a former merchant mariner, of manslaughter in the May, 1981, stabbing death of 16-year-old Stanford Soule, for which Donald Marshall Jr., 30, a Metis Indian, had spent 11 years in jail, by a Supreme Court jury, in Sydney, N.S. Eliot, freed without trial by J. R. MacLeod Rogers, faces a maximum sentence of life imprisonment when he returns to court on Nov. 21. Marshall, who was granted parole in March, 1982, and acquitted in a new trial by the Supreme Court judges in May, 1983, won \$10,000 in legal fees. The Nova Scotia legal aid plan authorized \$10,000 toward his bills—the maximum amount allowed—and the Union of Nova Scotia Teachers has pledged to back Marshall in his attempt to get help from the federal government. Marshall is also seeking compensation for the time that he spent in prison.

DEB: Grenade Tafeloffre, 91, the last survivor of Les Six, in Paris Tafeloffre composed works for orchestra, piano and chamber groups as well as before, operas and plays. Les Six, inspired by writer/film-maker Jean Cocteau, included Francis Poulenc, Arthur Honegger, Darius Milhaud, Georges Auric and Louis Durey.

DEB: Wishart Campbell, 82, singer, composer and a pioneer of Canadian radio, in Scotland. Campbell hosted the first network music program in Canada. During the Second World War he wrote what became the official hymn of the RCAF, *The Aviator's Prayer*.

DEB: Betty Lambert, 86, a Canadian playwright who wrote the controversial 1979 sex novel *Crusoe*, of easier, in Vancouver. Lambert was an associate professor of Greek drama, Shakespeare and Wagner at Simon Fraser University and wrote 19 plays and several musical comedies.

DEB: Lloyd McBride, 67, president of the United Steelworkers of America from 1977 until his death, following multiple heart bypass surgery last month, in Wilkesboro, Pa. In 1966 McBride was one of the first members of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee and, as president of the union, led steelworkers through the most troubled times since the Depression.

DEB: James Ray, 69, the actor who received critical kudos for his performances as a drug addict in the Broadway play *Assume This Position*, starring Al Pacino, of an apparent drug overdose, in New York.

Now will the Liberals listen?

With reference to Charles Gordon's column *How much is that in English?* (Oct. 16), his language (which reads like a metric as a linguistic problem does not exist. Metric terms have been part of the English language for more than 100 years, and increasingly so since the Second World War. Invariably, the alternative to metric is imperial, not English. The Liberal government's disastrous metric conversion effort, consensus of the leadership of all three national parties. If we were to continue to export anything (apart from lumber to the United States) metric conversion had to come. It is true that many will vote against the Liberals because of this issue. It is also true that the Liberals deserve some credit for sticking with it with the consensus that history will vindicate them. —WILFRID L. MCGOWEN,
Pensacola, Fla.

Rejoice to Macdonald's and Charles Gordon! How unfortunate it is that Gordon's column is confined to one page and that Macdonald's does not have a circulation of 20 million plus! Even then, is there any guarantee that the Liberals would listen to their own people? The concern of readers across our country is evident in your Oct. 24 issue from Vancouver Island in Nova Scotia. Yet nothing seems to have enough weight to make the Liberals gain insight into this affront to our heritage.

—EDWARD BROWN,
Gatineau, Que.

The column by Charles Gordon *How much is that in English?* and it all. It is a relief to at last find something in print that has general circulation that states not only my feelings but those of the vast majority of native-born Canadians. When is our country going to be governed in accordance with the wishes of the majority? —BERTON A. THOMAS,
New Hamburg, Ont.

Opting to choose the cruise

When were the peasants when we needed them? Why has the so-called peace movement virtually ignored the Soviet shelling of 260 innocent people on the Korean passenger plane? Where were no spontaneous protests against the attack at the Soviet embassy? The peasants are quick to protest the slightest perceived attack made by the United States yet they allow the Soviets to "sign away with another." I wonder why they are so complacent in their indifference to mass treachery? Contrary to popular propaganda, the cruise industry is not a threat to our new constitutional "right to life, liberty and security." The truth is, the cruise industry is

intended to protect and defend those constitutional rights by deterring communist aggression. We all want disarmament and peace. Therefore, my advice is, "Choose the cruise." —REFUGEE TO LOS ANGELES

—THOMAS W. WILDER,
Berkshire

the media here in British Columbia tend, to give as much interpretation of the facts as the facts themselves. Can you imagine my surprise and disappointment when I began reading the other article British Columbians held dear. The first few paragraphs were filled with words full of annotations which immediately demonstrated that as soon as attempt to report the facts had not even been attempted. Fortunately, just as I was thinking about throwing this issue in the garbage, I happened upon Peter C. Newman's *Business Watch* column. I was relieved



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to find that at least one of the writers employed by your magazine still retained an ability to think, analyse and present his views in an informative way.

—ESP LITTLE
Toronto

Not so divine in Saskatchewan

Michael Martin of Saskatoon (Saskatchewan in the Newsprint, Letters, Oct. 17) credits Saskatchewan Premier Grant Devine with "thrusting Saskatchewan into the international limelight." Martin neglected to mention Devine's other accomplishments. Devine's focus that comes most readily to mind are his enormous and unprecedented budget deficit and the slow strangulation of our taxes and our department of our services.

—MARTY TROMAN
Brainerd, Minn.

Say goodbye to forever

As a westerner, I can only view the abolition of the Crex rate as a breach of contract designed to provide a windfall for the crs (Last stand for the Crex, Canada, Oct. 17). Yet there seems just cause for some adjustment to a rate that is out of reality with today's costs and worth of paper now. If the crs wishes to modify this unconditional agreement—it once signed "forever"—I be-

lieve another aspect of that agreement needs to be renegotiated as well. I suggest that for every percentage increase in the freight rate, one per cent of the total funds granted to the building fund may be returned to the crs. This reduced property could then be set in trust, issued, and the monies used to reduce wheat farmers' increased freight bills. —GORDON J. HAMILTON, Cambridge, Mass.

This Canada of ours

With reference to the letter by William W. Rossouw of Kirkland, Que. (What English know about, Oct. 17), I must point out the support given the Franco-Québécois by the federal political parties as they may obtain their constitutional rights in that province. Bowsers should not complain, but support the right in Manitoba. He too is part of a minority. —JEAN BERNARDIN, Sherbrooke, Que.

Defending Hiroshima

I take exception to Bruce Collebank's letter concerning the United States' for dropping two atomic bombs on Japan to shorten the Second World War (Balancing nerve, Letters, Oct. 20). As a veteran, let me advise Collebank that both Germany and Japan were endeavoring to

build atomic bombs at that time, and only last month a Japanese scientist confessed that he was working on such a weapon and that Japan would certainly have used it if they had completed theirs first. —FRED WATKINSON, 300 38th Street, B.C.

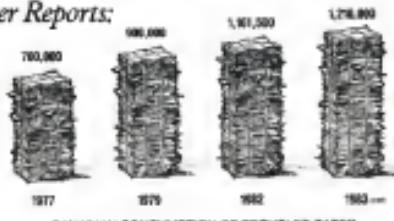
It's not easy being Red

I really do get rather tired of Barbara Amiel's bad temper and right-wing prejudices finding their way into print (The assassination of T.H. White, Column, Oct. 20). It is hardly surprising that she would disagree with T.H. White's benevolent view of Communist China, but perhaps her suggestion that he cannot understand her anti-communism is a little severe for merely disagreeing with her. Does she really believe that 20th-century journalists played a role "in the destruction of free and open society"? I doubt it. But they did report some of this destruction. The major sin of anyone, in Amiel's eyes, seems to be saying anything good about a communist or socialist country. —ROBERTA FRANCE, Stockbridge, N.H.

Letters are edited and may be condensed. We encourage our readers to address a single-plane window. Write correspondence to Letters to the Editor, Maclean's Magazine, 100 Bloor St., Toronto, Ont. M4W 1A7.



Pulp and Paper Reports:



Making Paper from Paper

One of the challenges facing Canada's pulp and paper industry is to secure a sufficient supply of recyclable waste paper to supplement the industry's fibresupply. Thousands of jobs depend on it.

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A major objective of the pulp and paper industry is to encourage the recovery of more recyclable paper in Canada. It will take time, but the goal

can be achieved. Burning or burying waste paper does not make sense. Recycling paper to make paper save, because it extends Canada's forest resource — the origin of our job in its severest.

For more information, send for "New Challenges", a free booklet from Public Information Services, Canadian Pulp and Paper Association, 100 L'Espresso Building, Dept. M-21, 23rd Street, 1055 Metcalfe Street, Montreal, Quebec, H3B 2Z6.

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Angry workers' march (above); poverty victims (below): riots, road protests, strikes and mass demonstrations

DATELINE: BRAZIL

A troubled nation under economic siege

By Moyra Ashford

After 25 years of working for a São Paulo home appliance manufacturer, pattern maker Waldemar Veneri, 46, lost his \$550 (US) a-month job in March when the company curtailed its operations. Since he could not find work in a comparable salary, in May Veneri opened a small general store selling food and household goods in Vila Esperança, a working-class suburb of São Paulo. But after eight months of losses, Veneri is piled high again and plans to sell his store. He finds work in a nation of 120 million, where an estimated 35 per cent of the working-age population is urban, either unemployed or underemployed. Veneri is not alone in the camp of misery.

Recently, a series of strikes and protests by angry metalworkers, oil refinery workers and Brentford out of work has rocked the country. Last month Brazil suffered pressure from agencies International Monetary Fund, banks and introduced less stringent austerity measures than those recommended by the IMF.

Brazil now has all the characteristics of a nation under siege. The economic

“economic crisis” of the 1960s and early 1970s, when the country’s gross national product grew by an average of 11 per cent annually, has now left the country with a staggering \$60-billion debt load—the Third World’s largest. Last year meat food prices rose by 250 per cent. Dashed dreams of a steady

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protests are emanating from those excluded from "Bolívar"—the better in the northeast—and from the middle class, which is suffering from unemployment and salary erosion.¹⁰

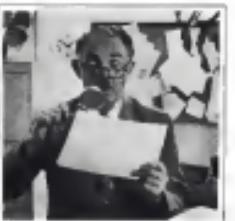
In September the nation's anger erupted as rioters protesting against food shortages spread the country's three major cities—São Paulo (population, 8 million) and Rio de Janeiro (2.5 million). In only 30 days ranks of shop dwellers looted 184 supermarkets and general stores. By the end of the month the attacks had subsided in the face of increased police vigilance and the presence of armed guards hired by supermarket owners. But in the chronically drought-parched northeast region, hordes of half-starved women and children ransacked 96 warehouses and food stores for beans, rice, sugar, oil and other basic foods. People have resorted to eating lizards and desert rats and eating hard-boiled cactus in vegetable stews.

The economic crisis is most visible in the crowded streets of São Paulo, which accounts for 40 per cent of Brazil's industrial output. The city's population quadrupled in less than 30 years, and it became a magnet for poor rural migrants. In 1980 São Paulo state boasted a gross income that topped that of the whole of Argentina. But by August the city's unemployment rate had reached 20 per cent, and industrial production had fallen to pre-1978 levels. One-third of those who are employed earn less than \$35 a month—barely enough to feed a single adult. An army of tramp sellers and beggars has invaded the city. At night an estimated one million abandoned children roam the streets, begging and hawking cheaply-bought items to people in movie houses. Crime in São Paulo has reached alarming proportions. An average of three armed bank robberies occurs every working day. Bandits regularly attack apartment residents in their bedrooms and assault motorists on buses.

The plight of the normally stable professional and middle class is probably the most telling indicator of Brazil's economic and social decline. Estimates of layoffs in such professions as engineering run as high as 90 per cent. Disengaging individuals, many of them former company executives and managers, have mounted makeshift canoes boats on the streets where they sell such items as handbags and fruit. Those who still have jobs are forced to adopt emergency budgeting measures. Some workers park their cars halfway to work and walk the rest of the way. Many have had to sacrifice their children's private school education—a sine-cessity for the middle class in a coun-



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By the way, there is heat in the air even on the very coldest winter days. As a matter of fact, there is heat in the air until the temperature drops to "absolute zero" or -273°C which it never does. To experience for yourself what absolute zero feels like, you'll have to go a very long way. The planet Pluto, for example, approaches it on a really bad day.

In short, the heat pump is an extremely efficient way to heat and cool your home.

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And we're studying industrial applications. Already the heat pump is being used with great success in such diverse areas as the drying of wood for the furniture industry, the production of maple syrup, and heat recovery in the food and beverage industry.

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In which public sector standards are low. One of the more fortunate middle-class members is Odilio Repasche, a 43-year-old assistant department supervisor at the São Paulo branch headquarters of the Banco do Brasil. Repasche earned R\$800 (U.S.\$25) a month in 1986. Although he is still among the top 20 per cent of wage earners, his salary's real purchasing power has fallen to R\$400. To save money, Repasche's family has new forklifts vaccines and replaced the gas-fuelled water heater with a more efficient electric model. Said a better Repasche: "I do not think we are privileged, so we should have to live on less than we have."

According to the experts, Brazil's recession will deepen before the economy improves. Gen. Figueiredo's new austerity measures passed by Congress on Oct. 19 leave in place the highly inflationary indexing system in which wages are linked to soaring price increases. The IMF demanded harsher measures, which would have limited all salaries to 80 per cent of the cost-of-living index, now running at 30 percentage points below the annual inflation rate. But Figueiredo's plan applies a sliding scale. It allows workers who make less than R\$30 a month raises equal to 100 per cent of the index.

Brazil's economic and social plight poses political perils. The country is passed at a delicate point in the process called *abertura*—opening the way for a "slow, gradual and irreversible" return to democracy, promised by the country's military rulers. In the past year authorities have lifted censorship, granted amnesty for thousands of exiled or disenfranchised Brazilians and allowed democratic elections for almost every public office below the presidency. The government now favors compromise rather than confrontation to keep *abertura* on track. Although the military is divided internally, it appears willing to forgo governmental power. Still, citizens are concerned that if the domestic situation and civil disobedience gets out of control, the army might intervene to restore order.

Economists believe that Brazil could still achieve modest growth by 1988 if the world economy recovers. But the question remains: what will the intervening years bring? For the people, each day hopelessness grows. In the past few weeks apathy has begun to undermine the organization of strikes as some worried workers refuse to participate in illegal walkouts for fear of losing their jobs. For Waldemar Viana, living with despair daily, the spirit of defiance still reigns. Viana: "This is today's reality. I have no choice but to script it." □

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FOLLOW-UP

How safe are U.S. bridges?

Last June 28, a 100-foot-long section of the six-lane Manassas River Bridge, linking New York City to New England, plunged 70 feet into the river, killing three motorists and injuring three others. To date there have been five interior reports on the collapse of the 28-year-old bridge, and public works experts suspect that the catastrophe may foreshadow a series of similar disasters. The Manassas River tragedy underscores the fact that nearly 75 per cent of the 564,000 bridges in the United States will reach the critical age of 50—the average life expectancy of a bridge—before 1990. (Bridges may of Canada's more than 50,000 highway and municipal bridges are about 20 to 30 years newer than those in the United States; the issue is costly winter salt corrosion, not construction.) Reason: Federal inspection and upgrading programs began at least eight years ago.

When inspectors last examined the Manassas River Bridge in September, 1982, they found no wartime deterioration. But George Mail, whose 1982 book *Bridge Down* dramatically called attention to the decaying state of U.S. bridges, argues that the biannual inspections are not thorough enough. Said Mail: "A good part of the [Manassas] inspection was done by a man standing on the bank of the river with binoculars." Public confidence with the inspections was further undermined last month when a Superior Court judge found Jerry White, one of the public works employees who had inspected the Manassas River Bridge, guilty of altering his field notes after the collapse in an apparent attempt to protect himself.

Bridge and road inspections undertaken across the United States since the accident have found that the entire U.S. road system is in an advanced state of decay. The Reagan administration has angered critics by using local unemployment levels, rather than need, as the guideline for allocating \$7 billion for bridge repair and replacement over the next four years. And, according to Mail, "As far as we are now spending money for bridge repair, it will take 70 years just to fix the bridges in need of repair today." That is small comfort to the millions of motorists who must cross potentially perilous structures every day.

—DANIEL SURNIN in New York



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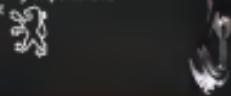
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FOLLOW-UP

New joys for Justin Clark

Only a few days ago Justin Clark, then 26, the severely disabled Ottawa man whose struggle for the right to set his life straight may have cost him his life in court, was his own man. His parents, Ronald and Ruth Clark, were convinced that their son was incapable of determining his own future. His speaking ability is minimal, and he cannot walk, sit or get to the toilet without help. But on Nov. 26, 1982, County Court Judge John Matheson disagreed with them. After an emotional hearing, Matheson told a packed Parry, Ont., courtroom that "a courageous man like Justin Clark is entitled to take a risk." Now Clark is happily living at Peter Partridge, a group home for the handicapped in central Ottawa, and attending McArthur High School, where he has shown a keen interest in computers. Although his severe physical problems remain unchanged—his back is twisted by seizures, and he must wear a painful corrective brace and spend half of his day



Clark. His severe physical problems remain unchanged, but his life has opened up.

lying down—the plucky young man is coping. And his friend Norman Pelletier, 29, who taught French at the Rideau Regional Centre where Clark used to live until founding Peter Partridge in August, 1982, "I do not know what is ahead, but right now Justin is blossoming."

Clark's life was not always so fulfilling. The youngest of a family of six, he was born with cerebral palsy, a disability that causes loss of muscular control. Realizing that their son needed expert care, the Clarks placed him at the Rideau Regional Centre in Smiths Falls, 60 km southwest of Ottawa, a 1,000-bed

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factory for the developmentally handicapped. The Clarks rarely visited Justice, and mistakenly believed that he did not recognize them—but continued to send gifts and letters. Speculation at the时间 concluded that Clark had the mental capacity of "mentally handicapped," and for years he received no formal education. But in 1974 he miraculously opened up for the 12-year-old boy—let the institutes introduced Bimayoshabot, a language using a board of symbols. Within months, Clark mastered hundreds of symbols, in the process revealing a surprisingly bright, inquisitive mind. When Clark turned 18, the doctor who examined him concluded that, in fact, he could make his own decisions. Indeed, he recommended Clark as a prime candidate to live outside the institution. But Clark's parents, who witnessed real safety over their son's activities, feared that he would not receive the necessary care outside the institute and insisted that he remain at the Hebrew in June, 1982, when Ronald Clark sought to obtain legal guardianship of his son, Justice, with Pellemer's help, hired lawyer David Baker to challenge his father. After the trial in November, 1982, highlighted by Justice's 80-minute testimony in Bimayoshabot, the young man in a wheelchair was his freedom.

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Clark's landmark victory not only irreversibly changed the course of health, but that of other handicapped people too. Of the 24 young men who lived at Clark's ward at the Edina Institute, 23 now want to leave. Indeed, when Mathews announced his decision, Jesus Clark's euphoric museum, reverberating throughout the banked courtyards, symbolized much more than a personal triumph. It marked a collective victory for the nation's handicapped.

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TO THE
VICTOR...
THE SPOILS...

George Wallace's political dream

After George Wallace started his wheelchair back into the Alabama governor's office last January for an unopposed fourth term, his critics soon began to complain that he was too soft on them. Shortly after taking the oath of office, he entered hospital for treatment of problems that his aides had carefully kept from the electorate during the arduous campaign: pain and depression stemming from Arthur Bremer's 1972 assassination attempt, which left Wallace paralyzed from the waist down. His prolonged absence from the state capital sparked widespread rumors that a rotting cadre of sycophants was running the state, much as it previous terms. Still, as the 1984 U.S. presidential race speeds up, it is clear that Wallace remains a potent political force.

Recently, a series of democratic presidential hopefuls, including Ohio Senator John Glenn, former vice-president Walter Mondale and Rep. Jessie Jackson, the Black Chicago civil rights activist, have consulted with Wallace. But the governor has so far not endorsed any candidate, and political observers speculate that, after his four-year re-election for the White House, Wallace's lifelong dream to sit in Washington's Oval Office is not dead. Indeed, the governor has never been forced to deny the rumors, and has said, "If I am elected, of course I would serve."

At 65, Wallace's hearing and vision may be fading, but his political power is not. According to Kenneth Wallis, a member of Wallace's cabinet, in the last legislative session the governor convinced legislators to approve 75 to 80 per cent of his programs. Many Alabamians believe his effects through the Alabama Development Office have helped reduce the unemployment rate to 15.2 per cent from a January high of 16.7 per cent. The charmed former segregationist has also carried with him black electives by amassing nearly 100 blacks to responsible board and committee positions since January. Still, many observers say that Wallace's recent record is blameworthy. The U.S. justice department is now seeking a court order to force him to desegregate two predominantly black Alabama universities. But criticism and physical disabilities have since dented the veteran political warhorse. Said Brandt Ayers, editor and publisher of *The Alabamian Spy* in Anniston, Ala.: "He loves to run."

—ANN WALMSLEY is from, with
Kathleen Englehardt in Montgomery

COLUMN

Freedom of choice is immoral

By Barbara Amiel

LAST week was a fun time in East-Canaan for those lone-voiced people with the宝贵的 ability to think in black-and-white terms, free from the burdens of moral sensibilities. Like, for instance, Gloria Steinem and soul mate Fló Kennedy.

You remember Fló. She is a founding member of the National Organization for Women and more recently the US Feminist Party, as well as being a lawyer and author of such judgment-free books as *Abortion Rap*. To her even description of herself, "I may seem radical but I'm not. I'm just a weird turning."

Well, Gloria and Fló were popping in and out of Toronto to meet with Canadian counterparts as Toronto feminist Margo Lane and journalist Jess Caldwell had a press reception down at Toronto's Elwood Women's Club, which was even considered too boisterous but is now okay even since the more democratic M. McGill Club went belly up financially and The Elwood, weathering difficult times, itself, decided to give good deals to its members.

Gloria and Fló were in town at the invitation of the ad hoc committee for "The lunar lunache," which, as its title implies to fork out \$50 and meet and hear Gloria and Fló speak things to us, read, "in pro-abortion or anti-abortion. The issue is choice." Unfortunately, in spite of the added temptation of champagne and dinner, I made a shant to go and hear these persons at their \$50 reception at Toronto's Sheraton Centre.

Some of us, alas, unlike Steinem, Kennedy, Caldwell and the Canadian ad hoc committee (which included Liberal activist Kathy Robinson, chatty-and-picky queen Myra Balile Davidson, writer Judith Finlayson and politico Barbara Cagol), are afflicted with the problem of seeing moral aspects to certain questions, like abortion. These moral aspects may not prevent us from seeing the need for abortion as a nasty but necessary fact of life, but they do prevent us from ignoring the question to the outright as contained in the phrase, "The issue is choice."

That is not precisely the issue, and I do not believe for one moment that any of the above think it is. Personally, I think too highly (perhaps wrong) of their moral acumen to believe such a ludicrous suggestion, but if they really think that, well, they have even less

brain power than some of their lunatic狂妄的 suggestions.

Abortions are available to women through hospitals. They are not illegal. Any woman in Canada who wishes to have an abortion can have it. She may have a little more difficulty in getting one if she lives in Sudbey or Penobscot Falls, but then Dore, Margarette et al, for whom Fló and Gloria and I am raising money, are not planning to go to such remote parts of the country.

Anyway, making a bit of a journey to kill one's child ought not to be too overwhelming a choice to make. Even economically disadvantaged women (who are always used in these arguments) will sometimes travel out of town for a special occasion or to make a special purchase. And furthermore, and key to this argument, having an abortion is not quite the same thing as abortion, say, a gross drunk rather than a Miss America. There is more than chance involved.

'Anyway, making a bit of a journey to kill one's child ought not to be too overwhelming a choice to make'

Indeed. There is a moral decision to make. To pretend that such a component is not the most pressing element in a woman's decision or in the attitude of society to the question of abortion is to turn the issue into one of strict utilitarianism, of whether the choice should have a white collar or a ploughing neckline, whether the abortion should be done as Monday or Tuesday—depending on what is on TV that night.

In fact, the man discussing this about the politics and issues of our age, and most especially Canadian politics, is that they are no longer concerned with virtue, or the slightest consideration of what might be morally desirable. These are practical, utilitarian issues. The progressive approach to life is to abandon those aspects of our being that have marked our great social political thinkers, from Aristotle to Edmund Burke, who would begin reasoning on issues with a variant of the question, "How should we live?"

The classical approach to debating public policies with the goal of elevating the passions of our citizens has been abandoned in favor of debates that have

run with rodeo slogan like, "The issue is choice." Slogans that, whatever the outcome of the debate, totally eliminate the consideration of virtues from the argument.

In taking this argument further, the American conservative philosopher George F. Will pointed out that the great moral issue of slavery, when debated by Abraham Lincoln and Stephen Douglas, was reduced by Douglas to an argument of utilitarian matters: the clash between material and economic interests and the balancing of these interests without regard to moral principles. Will argues that U.S. political theory today has more often followed the pragmatism of Douglas than the moral precepts of Lincoln. If he thinks the United States is bad, he should try dialogue with Canadians.

I was reminded of this by spending part of last week possessing one of those frigglers (in the sense of immoral rather than frightening) made-for-TV films that are now the rage, all about the end of the world through nuclear holocaust. The film I watched, called *The Day After*, charmed out details of how awful it would be to wake up the morning after a nuclear war. Nowhere in the entire drama is there any consideration of the moral values of life, of liberty, of freedom. The whole drama thing is about the value of practical survival. Everything is weighed in relative terms. "Why would you blow up Chernobyl to save West Berlin?" seems to be the question implicit in the film—without any regard for what one might be fighting or suffering for. Survival, after all, is a practical business.

It is impossible to explain that, if you regard every form of equality, term and condition as not worth caring with because of the destruction that follows, chances are that you will suffer every form of indignity and terror, and at the same time find it in not at all certain that you will escape the destruction you seek to avoid.

But certain indignities do more than temporarily affect one. There is a quality to life that cannot be quantified in the utilitarian ethics of our time. There are, whether Steinem, Caldwell and fellow travellers of the world believe it, questions of morality that may be as important to life as life itself. Which is, after all, only a temporal state. And the quality and way in which we live surely has more to play in our policy decisions.

That is my choice anyway.





Striking civil servants on a picket line at dawn outside a provincial prison, opposing forced lock-in a show-down



Solidarity rally; forest union chair Jack Munro (left) and Kubz discuss strategy, anger and threats of more walkouts



PHOTO BY JEFFREY M. STONE

CANADA

British Columbia divided

By June O'Hearn

British Columbia was a province bitterly and profoundly divided last week. While Premier William Bennett brought down his controversial legislative program on June 12, he fended it in the name of restraint. Then, when British Columbia's powerful trade unions extended the new laws, they insisted that the province had Bennett's revenge for victories they had won in the past. During the past four months, those opposed fares have been treacherously pitted against a slowdown. On June 8, British Columbia's 4,000 teachers and educational support staff walked off the job. Two days later, 2,000 workers at provincial government facilities followed them. Initially, they picketed in sympathy with 40,000 public employees who went on a legal strike on June 21 to protest the planned firing of 3,000 of their fellow workers without regard to seniority. But last week labor's demands broadened, and the strike grew

into a massive political protest which has split the province and subverted the single issue of the strike.

Throughout the Remembrance Day weekend, negotiators for both the government and the BC government

The government and striking workers tried to reach an agreement as teachers joined picket lines across the province

playoff. Union negotiators tried to reach a contract settlement—a lay-off stay in targeting everybody back to work. The government was unable. Operation Solidarity, the union front formed to fight Bennett's restraint, threatened to fight Bennett's restraint, threatened to pull 220,000 public sector employees off the job and completely paralyze the government.

Maclean's

province. Opposition Leader Dave Barrett expressed the confusion and anxiety that split British Columbians last week. "The trade unions were not angry," he declared. "As the province struggled through a second month with 3,000 closed government offices, 22,000 ferry workers, bus drivers and managers, employees prepared to join the walkout on Nov. 14."

In provincial courts, prosecutors began dropping minor charges to prevent a backlog. Without respite, 2,000 workers formed long lines at emergency centres, and the law closed schools, universities, highways, government, food and fuel supplies from neighboring island communities. But teachers, who left about 500,000 secondary and secondary schoolchildren without classes and younger children without day care, raised the most concern. The walkout by teachers was the second round in Solidarity's escalating program of action to increase pressure on the government.

As British Columbians entered the long weekend, they knew that bosses and firms might soon stop running. There was no indication of a breakthrough. Operation Solidarity refused its hard-line stand. It offered the government peace if Victoria agreed to settle the controversial layoff issue and sustained seniority rights as a criterion for determining layoffs. Originally, Operation Solidarity had said that if the teachers struck in support of the strike, the government would have to withdraw major parts of its legislative package in order to get them to settle. By way of a last-minute reversal, their demands led to a request that the government dismiss its issues at the closing of the Human Rights Commission and the next central office with Operation Solidarity. Said Art Gerasewich of the 11,000-member Canadian Paperworkers Union: "We are not going to say you have to do precisely this on human rights or老人 rights. That would be death. There is no government that would be prepared to negotiate, and we don't expect them to."

At the same time, the teachers' pressure on the province made a settlement more difficult to obtain. Declared Larry Kubz, president of the BC Teachers' Federation: "Once we are out, there are other issues of concern to teachers, specifically the manner in which the

government plans for the next three years. That is what has the teachers upset. That has to be on the table now." The teachers' federation estimated that about 90 per cent of its members were either out on strike or honoring picket lines around their schools. Many were considering infinite strikes ordering them back to work.

Emergency Union leaders serve Canada's closely divided unions. On British Columbia, and Modder's has learned that federal public service is British Columbia, including 2,000 mail and postal workers, were prepared to join the strike. The union of the strike last past Nov. 18. "This is probably the most important strike in Canada in recent history," said William Chodorus, international vice-president of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers. "It is not an economic strike but a political strike. If Bennett gets away with this legislation, the union premises will be looking at it very closely."

Bennett did say that he would not use emergency legislation to force the teachers or other workers—back on the job. He said that he would concentrate instead on settling the strike negotiations. As well, the government has deliberately ignored the growing needs of protesters as though they were无关的 guests at a dinner two weeks before the teachers' walkout. Education

Minister Jack Ehrlich angered the educators with an ill-timed warning that they would be in danger of losing their teaching certificates if they abandoned their classrooms, a threat relayed by Bennett on the eve of the walkout. In an interview with Maclean's, Provincial Secretary James Chabot said: "Our main objective is to reach an agreement with the public service employees. They are not out picketing, and there is no need for that. I have great difficulty responding to the plan of Operation Solidarity, whose members are walking threats and shifting strike ground on a daily basis. As for the teachers, they have shown a certain disregard for their students and they will have to examine their own consciousness."

Overwhelming Recent government polls show that most British Columbians favor Bennett's cutbacks, but also that as many as 75 per cent disagree with Bennett's all-or-nothing approach to the issue. Indeed, in the past five years all provincial governments have been actively increasing the numbers of civil servants through staffings and layoffs without reengineering any institution. But Bennett, encouraged by the overwhelming electoral mandate he won last May, directly challenged labor with his revolutionary revenue package. The government did not cut government spending

the provincial budget increased by 12 per cent, and the deficit rose to \$5.6 billion. Said Michael Balsillie, a lawyer and lecturer in labor and civil liberties at Capilano College: "Bennett has ripped apart all the fundamental tenets of workplace security and made 30 years of trade unionism futile. The restrictive legislation could not help but lead to what it has led to. There is nothing wrong with laying people off. But, instead of laying off people, Bennett chose to bare his teeth and use a club."

When the budget debate heated up in early September, Bennett also prevented the Opposition by holding a series of all-night meetings on his package of legislation. Confrontation is common in the B.C. legislature, but Bennett and his 35-member Social Credit caucus would not concede anything to the NDP's opposition, and they invoked closure an unprecedented 28 times in order to end debate. Decisions were also set for filibuster and disorderly conduct as the NDP tried to block passage of what it termed "the dirty dozen" 12 bills which the Opposition found regressive, particularly those that allowed the government to dismiss workers without considering authority. While the NDP failed to stop the passage of Bennett's legislation, Solidarity was gaining momentum inside the legislature.

Controversy Solidarity found its name and its mission within days of Bennett's July 7 budget. It began when burly, Polynesian Art Kabe, president of the B.C. Federation of Labour, called for a broad-based coalition to prevent the budget and its accompanying legislation. Solidarity rallies in Victoria and Vancouver drew crowds of as many as 90,000 people, but Bennett largely ignored them until Sept. 25, when the NDP's bargaining committee announced that the union would strike if any of its members were fired on Oct. 31. By noon, Solidarity gave the first signal that it might be willing to compromise. It agreed to withdraw a controversial clause that allows the government to fire employees without cause. The unions demanded that action be too little, too late, and Kabe raised the threat of a general strike.

That threat was still present as the weekend, and Bennett's government responded to it by talking directly to Opposition leaders — save that the premier had invited Tom Takis as a new contractor for legally striking civil servants instead, but government negotiators also met with coalition members to discuss the cuts in social programs. Even as the talks as two front increased chances of retirement, there was no doubt that the bitterness of the strike will linger long after the picket lines are gone.

With Gordon Legge in Vancouver

Radicalizing the workers

Diane Wood was aghast that B.C. Premier Bill Bennett had set out to destroy the unions in a province in which 40 per cent of the labor force is organized. Wood, 37, is the newest vice-president of the 40,000-member B.C. Government Employees' Union (BEGEU), and her nerve was on the line when the government announced that 1,600 employees would be fired Oct. 31 — a deadline that Bennett remained during negotiations. Wood was an administrative assistant in the Provincial Office of the human resources ministry. She and her fellow union activists found it suspicious that 17 workers in similar jobs around the province remained on the payroll. Johns

had never been a union member before he went to work for the government 15 months ago as a motor vehicle inspector. "It was uninvited and uninvolved," Bennett confirmed. An automobile mechanic, he decided to trade higher wages for long-term security when he joined the government. He wanted to ensure that he could send his 16-year-old daughter through college. But a phased elimination of five vehicle branch began in July, and Northcott's job was declared redundant. Now Northcott and his wife Tina, 36, an unemployed secretary, are struggling to meet expenses which exceed his B.C.-wide strike pay. Although there have been discouraging moments during the strike, Northcott will not give up. "When there are 40,000 people out there losing their salaries and standing outside in the cold because they agree that the government has done the wrong thing by firing 1,600 people, then that makes you pretty damn humble."

Patricia George is another worker who did not

want to give up. George, 43, a coordinator of family and children's services with the ministry of human resources, was "shocked" and "stunned" when she read a dismissal letter that declared her "redundant." Although never an active trade unionist, George, the 12 new Solidarity negotiator, has been involved in activism after being fired was not for her own career, but for the children and teenagers under her care. "What bothers me is that all the services built up over the past 30 years are being dismantled."

Barb Case, 36, a coordinator in the family support program, East Vancouver, shares her concern.

A government employee for the past 10 years, Case worked with parents and troubled teenagers to help families together "to change families with kids up and with families without kids not being involved. I think there will be more kids on the streets," he says. Unlike other workers, Case, a shop steward, was not surprised when he received his termination notice. Now he and two others are angry — and wondering if they will get their jobs back.



Wood: message to union activists and cuts in services



Saskatchewan Potash Corp. in operation. Andrew Oppenheimer charges of politics in the boardroom

Devine's inspirations

When a Tory victory in April 1982 ended 31 years of New Democratic Party rule in Saskatchewan, Crown corporations were the most powerful force in the province's economy next to agriculture. Collectively, the 12 corporations provided 14,000 jobs, controlled \$5.8 billion in assets and embraced everything from resource development to far marketing. When he became premier, Grant Devine promised that the corporations would become leaner and free from the political influences that had been evident under the previous government. But last week, when nine private sector businessmen and professionals replaced cabinet ministers as the chairman of the province's most important Crown corporations, the NDP's Opposition charged that the appointment meant more, not less, politics in the boardrooms. The nine new or latest flags of the nine appointments went to well-known Tory partisans.

In all, the government plans to replace the heads of 12 Crown corporations

which control 16 such commercial sectors as electrical power, mass and auto insurance. The other four corporations are small enterprises with specific mandates like keeping track of the location of provincially owned grain hopper cars. But the NDP maintained that the decisions would be expansive, because the new chairmen earn as much as \$300 each for every day they spend on Crown corporation business. The cabinet ministers they are replacing receive no extra fees while acting as corporation heads. As well, with provincial minister in charge, political interference in the workings of Crown corpora-



Oppenheimer

tions will actually increase, according to Opposition critic Dennis Langenfelter, MLA for Sheenwood in southwestern Saskatchewan.

Urging Staff Services, the new head of the Saskatchewan Mining Development Corp., is one of the most controversial appointees. Beresford now presides over a company heavily involved in the mining and export of uranium. He has been active in provincial politics since the early 1960s, when he opposed the introduction of Canada's first nuclear system in Saskatchewan.

He is also a provincial vice-president of the federal Progressive Conservative party and a well-known fund raiser for the party.

Other prominent Tories heading major Crown corporations include Saskatchewan Premier George R. L. Moore, who succeeded his predecessor to be chairman of the Saskatchewan Crown Corp. Allan Wright, a successful insurance executive and defeated NDP candidate who is head of the Saskatchewan Government Insurance Corp., and Saskatchewan Lawyer Harold Lane, a former Tory MLA who joined the Crown Management Board, the government holding company that oversees operations of all Saskatchewan Crown corporations.

The most unusual job of all went to Saskatchewan Mayor Cliff Wright, who became head of the Potash Corp. of Saskatchewan.



Roger Thibault in Montreal: the customers called for white drivers

The Haitians fight back

Sixteen months have passed since escalating charges of racism by Haitian drivers in Montreal's taxi industry sparked an inquiry by Quebec's Human Rights Commission. The final report is not expected until early next year, but this week the commission's drive for reform will be put to a key test: an east end co-operative that employs only white drivers has been ordered to hire four Haitians by Nov. 30 or face legal action. Beyond the immediate dispute, 10 months of hearings revealed the subtle ways in which successors and companies made black drivers the targets of discrimination—and counterclaims by white drivers that they acted out of economic self-interest in a city with too many taxis.

The test arose out of the commission's finding last month in an interim report that the 175-member Co-Op de l'Est had to submit a dispute with four drivers to mediation. The company refused to hire three of the Haitians and dismissed a fourth, Victor Thibault, 36, the owner of three cabs who now works for Tax Moderne. Thibault means on returning to Co-Op. "If I live in a free country," he said, "I can run any co-op I want."

Under the Quebec human rights code, disputes must first go to mediation before the courts. In early November Co-Op de l'Est refused to accept the first commission-appointed mediator. After a second was appointed last week, the talks aimed at resolving the dispute began. Roger Saint-Louis, vice-president

of Co-Op de l'Est, at first dismissed the mediation process. "It's a waste of time," he said. "Our minds are made up. For them, only the blacks are right, and we're a bunch of barn."

The commission's interim report charged that on Co-Op de l'Est drivers had compared to keep black drivers out of the company. One man, Louis Alliegro, was accused of advancing potential customers: "If you don't want a black driver, call us. And you won't have any problems."

The commission based evidence that firms employing black drivers developed distinct ways to deal with customer requests for white drivers. Dispatchers used the phrase *on account* (not) to indicate that the first white driver in the queue should respond to the call. And white drivers complained that black employees would not move their cars forward to let the whites out of the line.

Several companies routinely marked "no—no drivers" or no blacks—or their order books when callers asked for white drivers. When questioned by the commission, Beaconsfield St. Michel Radio Taxi inspector Adrien Galurman admitted that managers knew about the "no" policy and did nothing to prevent it. In 1981, however, the company modified the practice. "Drivers," said Galurman, "were then given the choice of answering a white-only request. If a black driver went and the client didn't want him, we'd need another car." Dispatchers honored the requests, Galurman re-

plied, because "the customer is always right."

When the inspector declared that the company stopped the practice in late 1985 "because it was illegal," Commissioner Nicole Trudeau-Béland pointed to a March, 1982, telephone letter containing the letters *no*. Galurman responded: "This is a mistake." Trudeau-Béland then noted that it was a mistake that happened 187 times in the month.

Maurice Lachapelle, co-owner of the 300-employee Beaconsfield taxi, which has 30 black drivers, told the commission that his problems were caused by the fact that his major competitors employ no blacks. "If all the companies had drivers, we would never be here," he complained. He also testified that in 1981 the company received an anonymous letter from "angry drivers" threatening sabotage if the company continued to keep its black drivers.

According to Gérard Barthélémy, head of the activist Association Haïtienne des Travailleurs du Taxi, the estimated 800 black drivers in the city work for only a half-dozen of Montreal's 35 taxi companies. One of them is Tax Moderne, which, says Haitian driver Thibault, "has made considerable efforts to recruit its drivers." But Barthélémy warns: "If the Co-Op de l'Est is allowed to deny black drivers, then Tax Moderne will withdraw along with all the other companies."

Some cab drivers and human rights activists welcome the commission's inquiry. But Barthélémy, who drives a spartan 1981 Buick cab for the downtown Diamond company, sees that the inquiry "haven't really attenuated racism. It still exists." While the practice has stopped, discrimination—sometimes leading to insults and fist-fights—is still flagrant on can stands all over the city. "Haitian drivers are so intimidated that they're afraid to go to some stands," Barthélémy said.

Competing with 15,000 taxi drivers—roughly double the number in Toronto—cab drivers work up to 80 hours a week blacks blacks for their living expenses. The white drivers have accused Haitians of having "dirty cars" and being targets to customers. Said Co-Op de l'Est driver Roger Saint-Louis: "I've got to defend my taxi when the government comes showing its fingers into my pockets. I would like to see those [black] capital commissioners come down and walk in the taxi. Then they'll see what racism is and why it's doing it. It's not a company." Commissioner Trudeau-Béland defends the commission's work. "If we had believed the inquiry would have a magic effect," she said, "we would be disappointed. But the inquiry is only the beginning of action needed to confront racism."

—CHRISTOPHER NEAL, *Le Montréal*



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Down with mother, Sherry Grant: embroiled in an uneasy debate over who should decide who lives or who dies

COVER

THE 'MERCY' KILLERS

By Val Ross

Four 18 (life) hours after her birth, Sherry Grant, a Taschka, stranded for life in Edmonton's University Hospital, then died in her mother's arms on Oct. 8, 1982. Two weeks ago the Alberta attorney general's department charged a 36-year-old Jewish doctor, Nachum Gal, with capital murder in connection with her death. Baby Taschka's parents, Robert and Sherry, of Two Hills, Alta., suspecting that she was brain-dead, had initially agreed to take their severely disabled infant off life-support systems at the urging of another doctor. The attorney general's department alleges that Gal, a visiting resident physician in Edmonton (page 29), had decided, without consulting the Taschkas, to ease and speed the baby's painful death with an injection of morphine 10 times the normal dosage. Brought to her mother's home in Jerome, an anguished Gal demanded, "Am I the only one charged?" He far-

Gal is the first and only doctor to be charged with mercy killing in Canadian legal history. But if he did it, he would by no means be the first to have done so. Euthanasia, classified as murder under the Canadian Criminal Code, has

A growing clamor has forced decisions about terminating the life of the severely ill out of the shadows

day hospitals, and there is a growing public desire to control it.

The need for clarification of the law is urgent. The rapid advance of life-preserving medical technology has blurred the traditional meanings of life and death and raised new questions about which lives retain their human value. Expensive hospital machinery can now

extend life to those who previously would have been too sick to survive, placing an unwanted new burden of responsibility on the medical profession. At the same time, death-with-dignity pressure groups urge doctors to "pull the plug" on the terminally ill and patients in a coma. And rights-for-the-handicapped advocates oppose any doctor who speeds the death of a patient incapable of making the choice for himself. The growing choice has forced the day-by-day decisions about whether or not to terminate the life of the severely ill out of the shadows. In the past year doctors, judges, politicians and the families of patients over death have become embroiled in an uneasy debate over who should decide who lives and who dies.

The problem is growing. Eric Kluge, a professor of ethics at the University of Victoria, estimates that each year doctors and medical staff deliberately assist as many as 800 infants and comatose and terminally ill Canadians to die. The Canadian Association for the Mentally Retarded estimates that the num-



Inherits in essential word, the power to give life or merely to terminate it

ber is closer to 1,000. Until now, mercy killers who practised euthanasia actively (for example, with drug overdoses) or passively (by withholding life-saving medical treatment) did so privately, after consultation with relatives. But today citizens have hung the doors open, goaded by the fact that without more control over medical decision-making they could suddenly become a doctor's inadvertent experiment in euthanasia. And there is no medical test for it.

The public's clamor for more understanding and acceptable decisions is long-overdue, according to George Grant, philosopher and professor of political science at Dalhousie University in Halifax. Said Grant: "A society that fails to see the seriousness of these issues has given up the core of the Western tradition. I cannot think of a more important subject in the Western world." North Americans are confronting that subject with unsettling frequency.

• In March, a B.C. court ruled that the parents of Stephen Diaconis had the right to deny their retarded seven-year-old son a potentially life-saving medical operation. Four days later the B.C. Supreme Court reversed that decision.

• In July, Canada's first court ruling effectively giving an individual the right to choose his or her own death emerged from a British Columbia Court of Ap-



final decision. The court ruled against force-feeding an imprisoned Dandiakoroff woman, Mary Astabordoff (Astabordoff was starving herself to death in a religious protest). Solicitor General Robert Kaplan ignored the court's decision and ordered Astabordoff force-fed and released from her prison last month.

• In October, Justice Minister Mack MacLellan tabled in Parliament the Law Reform Commission of Canada's controversial report, *Euthanasia, Assisted Suicide and Coercive of Medical Treatment*—and then hastily assured an anxious public that the government would not implement any of the recommendations immediately.

• Two weeks ago the U.S. Justice Department filed a lawsuit to determine whether a New York couple was improperly denying life-saving surgery to a handicapped newborn baby whom the press dubbed Baby Jane Doe.

Voluntary euthanasia Underpinning the controversial court rulings and incoherent political response is the volatile issue of "triage," the concept that a human life can be selected for extinction if it lacks "quality of life." Triage used to mean the priorities by which battlefield doctors would give priority treatment to casualties who had a reasonable chance of recovery over those who would likely die. It has come to symbolize the cold-blooded ranking of human life into those who are fit to survive and those who are not. Still, when patients determine their own fate, the public's attitude toward euthanasia becomes increasingly tolerant: a 1979 Gallup poll reported that 68 per cent of those surveyed believed that doctors should not keep terminally ill patients alive when they formally ask to die. But the survey did not address the growing problem of patients who cannot decide for themselves—the very young, the retarded, and those in rotas, like Karen Ann Quinlan, whose doctors have kept alive in New Jersey ever since she fell into a drug-induced coma in 1976.

In these cases the power of life and death passes to other hands by default. Because courts have lacked precedents and because medical advice heavily influences the actions of the patient's family, the decision usually falls to the doctors. At one extreme of medical opinion are those who explicitly support

triage. Last year Dr. Scott Wallace, a former B.C. Progressive Conservative leader, proposed a national referendum on permitting elderly patients to volunteer for death in order to free up hospital beds. In a controversial speech in Toronto in May, 1982, then President of the Canadian Medical Association Dr. Leo Richard asked who should have priority when health care resources were limited and suggested, "those who will return to the work force, those who hold key positions in business or industry." • Nor is the CMA's own ethics committee coy about the issue. Said Chairman Dr. Arthur Parsons of Halifax: "Who is going to get into the lifeboat? Is it better to keep a severely retarded person alive or spend your tight resources on bypass surgery for a father of four?"

At the other extreme of medical opinion are pro-life doctors and nurses and allies of the handicapped, who argue that almost all life can have value. Speaking of baby Taubik, Dr. Hugh Latimer, executive vice-president of the Canadian Association for the Mentally Retarded, commented: "They keep hoping for an explanation that Canada should have been rewarded anyway. Well, is that a reason for killing someone? The only reason I can see is that some doctor wanted to play God."

Still, controversial as triage is, it is already practiced in Canadian hospitals. According to Norval Robson, past president of the Manitoba Association for the Mentally Retarded, attending doctors denied one Winnipeg woman kidney dialysis last year, apparently because she had Down's syndrome (she later died). Joseph Carewheape, a senior program staffer with the National Institute on Mental Retardation, charged that neglect is sometimes based on the notion that the retarded in the Atlantic provinces allowed people to die by denying them basic medical treatment.

The woman at the Cen-

erer special-care home in Fredericton, N.B., died of kidney failure two years ago. Said Carewheape: "You have to work pretty hard at it for your patient to die before age 18."

Denying people treatment because



Patient in intensive care, allowing disabled patients to volunteer for death

Whether or not the Canadian public believes it is ethical will be the subject of intense debate this winter when the CMA-founded Task Force on Allocation of Health Resources, chaired by consumer advocate Jean Watson, opens the first of its cross-Canada public hearings on Jan. 18 in Toronto.

Murder? The vast majority of physicians are somewhere in the middle of the debate. They are uncomfortable with their terrible responsibilities with their terrible responsibilities but are not sure they can avoid them. Dr. John Anderson, pediatrician with Halifax's Grace翼天翼 Hospital for Children, said with a smile: "I have quite a bit of difficulty with the notion of 'passive euthanasia'; you make an active decision not to support life. I am concerned that our decisions could create a situation that could be interpreted." But Anderson himself has taken those troubling actions. He admitted: "It makes me terribly uneasy. In one case, after a period of life-support systems I had to listen for some minutes for the baby's heart to stop beating."

In the face of those dire responsibilities, physicians are not always equipped to cope as though they were. A survey reported in the March, 1985, edition of the CMA Journal that 68 per cent of doctors polled had not even read the

CMA Code of Ethics; in fact, they sought their ethical advice from their colleagues, who had no more background than they. As a result, they sometimes made life-and-death decisions on very subjective bases. "The child of economically comfortable parents has greater chances of receiving treatment." In fact, several doctors told Magazine that the idea of informed consent was "nonsense."

But even as the medical community

struggles unceasingly with the new moral questions, the courts are taking an in-

creasingly active role. The most dramatic example of the growing activism of the courts was the controversial battle last spring over Stephen Dawson (Maclean's, March 26). Stephen suffered severe brain damage shortly after his birth. In February, 1983, a shunt, which drained fluid from his brain, malfunctioned. A neurosurgeon, Patrick Murray, visited Stephen's case. On the basis of that visit, Murray advised the child's parents that Stephen would die painlessly if they denied him an operation for a new shunt. Later court testimony revealed that Stephen's mother asked Murray to "put him to sleep." H.C. medical workers opposed the parent's decision and placed the boy in Vancouver's Children's Hospital to await the outcome of a custody battle. On the basis of testimony from doctor MacLellan, provincial court Judge Peter Morris removed custody to the Dawson—effected, keeping Stephen the operation. The H.C. pro-euthanasia lobby hailed his decision as a victory for the concept of "living with dignity."

Overruled. But the B.C. Supreme Court overruled the decision. Medical personnel from Stephen's hospital, the Sunny Hill Hospital for Children, contradicted Murray's testimony that Stephen was "non-viable." They pointed out that he could follow simple orders, throw a switch to start a toy train and was the only child in his ward

California doctors Barker (left) and Neary: the need for clarification





The Quinlans with photo of daughter Karen: traditional meanings of life and death are blurred

COVER

to be selected for music therapy. Mr Justice Lloyd McKenna ruled that "the court's presumption must be in favor of life," and Stephens received his slightly belated operation. Today, Dawson "is doing awfully well," according to Maureen Harrison, Sunny Hill's director of nursing. She added, "He is back in school and music therapy, and his vision seems to be getting better."

Life and death. The second Dawson decision changed the course of life-and-death decision-making, at least in legal theory. Said Paul Elie Proulx, health law expert at the University of Alberta law school: "It has done wonderful things for jurisprudence in that country, giving us criteria and standards—but these are those who create the direction in which the Dawson case pushed the medical and legal professions. Dennis Owen-Plod, a Victoria lawyer who acted as counsel (adviser to the court) in the Attawapiskat case, asserts that "values are not suited for dealing with life-and-death questions with scientific overtones." And Dr John Critchlow, chairman of the Canadian Medical Society's ethics committee, regrets that the case may have involved the courts more deeply in the medical decision-making process. Said Critchlow: "I'm absolutely clear that the courts are too cumbersome. Most charts, for example, should be drafted with a matter of hours." Laws of the court, diagnosis. Said Lafave: "Clearly, doctors and families can be in

conflict over what to do. Doctors can stay up all night, and have, to much a degree if that is what is needed, to safeguard of them. These are not only moral but also legal questions."

But, as critics demand clearer and more accountable medical decision-making, they are discovering that, despite the growing number of court precedents, the lawmakers themselves are still grappling with the basic issues. Said lawyer Flood: "The situation is still very mucky." And so are the arguments of the law more than the doctors who must make the decisions. Currently, few doctors write down "no." (Do not resuscitate) fear of legal liability. Instead, doctors and nurses try to communicate by coded charts or words on the charts of dying patients.

Universalism. The University of Alberta's Elie Proulx, adds: "The medical profession wants classification. They're trying to fit them on their own assumptions." However, that the CMA, in cooperation with the law professors, the Canadian Public Health Association, the Canadian Nurses Association, the Canadian Bar Association and the Canadian Hospital Association, drafted a set of recommendations this fall in

attempt to clarify issues such as resuscitation of treatment. The findings will be presented to each of the organizations for ratification this winter. Prof. Bernard Dales of the University of Toronto's law faculty says that the law reform committee's recommendations, tabled in Parliament on Oct. 25, will also carry great weight, even though they have not, and may never, attain force of law.

The conservative but controversial euthanasia report reaffirmed many of the principles already enshrined in the CMA Code of Ethics, the principle of informed consent, a patient's right to refuse treatment, and a doctor's right to discontinue treatment if it is not in the "best interests" of the patient and is not likely to be therapeutic value. (which theoretically would relieve doctors of the duty of supporting the life of a patient who did not want to live and whose condition they could neither cure nor improve.)

Murder. The commission treats the explosive topic of euthanasia with particular care. It recommends that euthanasia should remain classified as murder under the Criminal Code. The commission argues that juries are already lenient with those who kill for compassionate reasons. As well, it says, changing the present status of euthanasia opens the door to abuse, such as offering incentives to ensure that their services are thus wanted.

Resuscitation. An example of the confusion that could result if the commission had proposed widening the latitude of a euthanasia plan comes this year in California. Two doctors, Robert Neff and Ned Barker, found another doctor because they had cut off the life support of a patient after his wife, his family said, had suffered irreparable brain damage. The deputy district attorney of Los Angeles, Nicola Miklitsch, told *Maclean's* that the prosecution viewed the case as an attempt by the doctors to cover up their own negligence. In conducting the patient's condi-

tion. But last month, after months of legal debate, an appeal court dismissed the charges.

While lawmakers and professional organizations painfully grapple toward clearer policies, hospitals are already turning to another source of help—patients' advocates and hospital ethics committees, which provide candid and opinions on problematic cases. At present there are only two hospital ethics committees in Canada, the older of which is at Foothills Hospital in Calgary. The media has had the committee in a pincher, but its chairman, Rev. John Swift, points out: "We have no power. We are an ethics consultation service."

Euthanasia. As reforms point physicians in the direction of more responsible and accountable decision-making, the financial limitations of the health care system drag them back to the prospect of triage. Said CMA ethics committee Chairman Parsons: "If you keep severely resuscitated kids alive, what do you tell the dying patients when you cannot afford their treatment?" The CMA maintains that understanding is forcing doctors to make economic triage-type decisions with increasing frequency. CMA spokesman Douglas Gauthier suggested that one solution is to permit hospitals to raise needed revenues by extra-killing their richer patients—a practice that Health Minister Marjorie Blyth avoided once again last week. But permitting the wealthy to jump the queue while the ailing poor get stuck is just another form of triage, argued Peter Marshall, professor of behavioral sciences at the University of Toronto.

As the debate over whose life is worth fighting for continues, so does the pace at which changing technology presents a host of frightening new challenges to traditional human ethics. Medical triage is not the worst of them. Almost a decade ago the Institute of Society, Ethics and the Life Sciences at Hastings-on-Hudson, N.Y., advanced the provocative suggestion that terminally ill patients might be kept physically alive for "harvesting" of stem plasma, bone marrow and organs for transplant. After posing the idea, the president, the institute's president, Dr. Wilfred Gaylor, warned that his suggestion could come to pass unless people finally tried to define what they meant by "alive" and "dead." Added Gaylor: "There are no easy answers to these complex and painful questions. And those who seek answers at all, like Dr. Nathan Gal, often find that they have simply opened a Pandora's box."

Right. Justice Curran in Toronto; Rita Critchlow in New York; and Diane Laskow in Vancouver

The cost of compassion

Maurice Nathan Gal, the doctor at the centre of Canada's controversial euthanasia controversy, was born Maurice Katsman in France in 1945. It was not until he started a resuscitation program at Edmonton's University Hospital in July 1982 that he gave himself his Israeli name. When he returned to Israel permanently last February, says Hillel Benyamin, his friend and the mother of his three-year-old son, Itai, he told nobody that his new name had been linked to a marry killing. But Benyamin says his offence was characteristic. Indeed, late last week when *Maclean's* interviewed the doctor

The legalities are complex, but the facts of the case are clear. Candace Tuszak was born "basically dead," according to testimony given by Dr. Marc Andri Staudny, a senior pediatrician at Edmonton University Hospital's neonatal unit in July 1982, that he gave himself his Israeli name. When he returned to Israel permanently last February, says Hillel Benyamin, his friend and the mother of his three-year-old son, Itai, he told nobody that his new name had been linked to a marry killing. But Benyamin says his offence was characteristic. Indeed, late last week when *Maclean's* interviewed the doctor



Gal and his wife, Rita, sending a powerful signal to well-intentioned decency lawyers

Gal, he would only confirm in a nobbled voice that he had still not heard from the Israeli or the Canadian government about the charges he faces.

Canadian authorities now face jurisdictional problems in the attempt to prosecute Gal for murder. The main issue is that the former Canadian 20-year-old extradition treaty is in doubt. In 1979, the Israeli Knesset passed an amendment to the extradition law stating that Israeli citizens charged with felonies by foreign governments must stand trial inside Israel. Additional Federal Justice department lawyer Dennis Kallman: "We are concerned that their law may be in breach of our treaty. This case is a potential precedent-setter in extradition law."

Last week Benyamin said, "Maurice is frightened. He rarely has been on the phone. I know him." But his fears may be unfounded. Asked whether an Israeli court would try Gal on the Canadian murder charge, Prof. Yoram Shinar, senior of the Tel Aviv University and former chairman of the university's law faculty, noted: "I doubt very much that it will happen. Even if Gal never stands trial, Canadian rights for the handicapped citizens have effectively sent a powerful signal to well-intentioned decency lawyers."

—VAN HORN, with Roberta Abbott in Tel Aviv

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of engineering.

The fight to succeed Arafat

In the aftermath of Arab suicide bombings on U.S. Jewish and Israeli targets in Lebanon, all sides seemed to be gearing up last week for a major escalation in the fighting. Syria called up 100,000 reserves, bringing its military strength to 250,000. Then Israel followed up its air strikes on Palestinian bases in Lebanon with its annual targeting procedure for recalling its own reserves. Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir quickly went on national television to assure Syria that it had no aggressive plans. But Deputy Prime Minister David Levy claimed that Syria had received massive arms shipments recently from the Soviet Union and that it is training terrorists to strike Israel. Added Levy: "We have told the Syrians they would be well advised not to take any military action." At the same time, U.S. aircraft flew reconnaissance missions over foreign-held areas in Lebanon, raising concerns that Washington is preparing to fall President Ronald Reagan's promise to avenge the 209 Americans killed in the bombing of Marine headquarters in Beirut last month.

Thirty U.S. warships are massed off the Lebanese coast, and the United States sent four F-14 fighter bombers late last week over Syrian-held territory in Lebanon. The Syrians fired at the jets, but they returned to their base unharmed. The White House called the flyers by the U.S. air "routine reconnaissance missions." But 24 hours later Syrian anti-aircraft guns again fired on U.S. aircraft, heightening tensions further. Israeli aircraft also flew reconnaissance missions, while the London Times reported that U.S. marines had made a secret trip into the mountains overlooking Beirut to prepare traps and Syrian artillery positions. Syria charged in the United Nations that Washington and Jerusalem are planning a new Lebanese objective aimed at Damascus' forces. "Syria is not Grenada, we will defend our Arab land," said Syrian colonel Ali-Ahmad al-Sayyid. The United States denied any such intention. But one Western diplomat in Beirut said that he found an atmosphere of fear everywhere. "Everyone is waiting to happen."

At the same time, the Palestine Liberation Organization faced its worst crisis in 15 years. With his back to the sea in northern Lebanon, PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat tried to fight off a fierce rebellion from within his own ranks. The rebels, who are supported and



armed by Syria, drove Arafat and his supporters from the Syrian-controlled Jisr al-Shaykh and eastern Beirut. They last week took shelter in the Nahr al-Bared in the Bedouin refugee camp and the port of Tripoli itself, killing hundreds and forcing Arafat to retreat still further. At the end of the week, a massive coalition crushed Arafat's forces in Tripoli exchanged artillery fire with rebels outside the city. And it seemed Arafat faced the agonizing decision of whether to leave Tripoli, to spare its inhabitants from further bombardment, or to fight on. The PLO chief said that he would leave if authorities in Tripoli requested him to do so when Tripoli's mayor, As'ad al-Deyb, promptly asked him to go, Arafat said that he could not do so "while my soldiers are facing death daily." In response to al-Deyb's appeal, Arafat's

army of Tripoli. The deadly pairing of artillery shells and the deadly rush of mortars, the massive clouds of black smoke from high-rise apartment blocks and small concrete shanty-towns, the bitter, noisy sound of shelled ordnance all told in a picture of hellish rage of hellish and ferocious. Arafat's retreat went further. At the end of the week, a massive coalition crushed Arafat's forces in Tripoli exchanged artillery fire with rebels outside the city. And it seemed Arafat faced the agonizing decision of whether to leave Tripoli, to spare its inhabitants from further bombardment, or to fight on. The PLO chief said that he would leave if authorities in Tripoli requested him to do so when Tripoli's mayor, As'ad al-Deyb, promptly asked him to go, Arafat said that he could not do so "while my soldiers are facing death daily." In response to al-Deyb's appeal, Arafat's

army of the PLO in 1968 has been to bring together the disparate Palestinian groups under one banner. It was a difficult operation, the PLO's eight factions ranging across the political spectrum, from right-wing Islamic fundamentalists to extreme-left-wing pro-Soviet militants. But Arafat managed to maintain control through his own relatively weak but flexible position, the legitimate and most influential PLO group.

Now, Arafat himself has turned on its leaders. The rebels first surfaced last May, but its roots are much deeper. To many in the West, Arafat's unchanged face remains symbolic of the campaign of international terrorism that he conducted against Israel in the late 1960s and early 1970s. But Arafat has recently resorted to a greater reliance on diplomacy to achieve his aims—an approach that his opponents regard as



Arafat's opponents are fighting rebels (opposite); a Lebanese child is treated in a hospital (right); it is a atmosphere of fear.

supporters moved heavy weapons from the entrenched Bedouin camp to the city's northern suburbs and rained rocket fire on nearby Syrian positions.

Carefully, as the six-month revolt against his leadership neared its climax, Arafat was postponing a potentially difficult choice. For one part, the Hizbullah offered two mandates, part of its multinational force contribution, to evacuate the PLO leader and his 8,000 men from Tripoli.

There was a sense of frightening familiarity about last week's fighting

process claimed that Arafat and his followers were "massacring the Palestinian people by refusing to take part in dialogue." But simultaneously, Syrian officials closed Arafat's main office in Damascus.

Arafat issued daily pleas for help to Arab and Islamic leaders and organized countries. But the rebellion at Tripoli may destroy Arafat's leadership beyond recovery. Certainly it appears he had sold his rope, cast a united Palestinian movement. Arafat's greatest achievement came when he took over as chairman of the PLO in 1968.

The Israeli invasion and the coalition of the moderate Beaufort provided the

extremists with the autonomy they needed to mount. Arafat, Arafat conceded that the 11,000 PLO fighters—weapons slung over their shoulders—was a triumph step in the path to a Palestinian homeland. But it quickly became clear that in fact Arafat had been greatly weakened.

Arafat again angered the disaffected officials when he refused to unequivocally reject the Middle East peace proposal that Reagan advanced. Reagan's plan called for a Palestinian entity on the West Bank linked to Jordan—a concept that hard-line PLO members rejected because, they said, it compromised PLO independence. Arafat, on the other hand, was willing to consider the Reagan plan as one possible basis for negotiations and he began talking to Jordan's King Hussein about the issue. Negotiating privately with Hussein, Arafat agreed last April to conditions that even many of his strongest supporters later contended gave too much control over the Palestinians' fate to Jordan. For the first time in PLO history, the executives—and even the central committee of PLO—reproduced Arafat.

As well, Arafat's envoys with Hussein alienated Syria's Assad, who regards Hussein as a rival influence in the Arab world. At the same time, Assad wants to extend his own control over the PLO. In the end, Arafat declined to sign the agreement that he had worked out with Hussein. But the damage is now only, and as Arafat's relations with Syria, could not be repaired. In May, when Arafat made several unpopular military appointments, the PLO dislodged, backed by Syria, rebelled.

Many of the rebel leaders were high in the ranks of the PLO and Patah itself. One of the key dissidents, Abu Musa, 54, was former deputy chief of staff of both groups. The defectors of Musa, who directed the PLO's defense of Beirut during the Israeli siege last year, shocked many analysts. They had considered him to be a staunch Arafat loyalist. Another key defector, Abu Salih, who now oversees PLO political strategy, was one of the oldest members of Patah's central committee. But Salih has distanced himself with Arafat for years and traditionally he has been the most militant figure within Patah. Earlier this year Arafat suspended Salih's membership in the Patah hierarchy and placed him under virtual house arrest.

Shaded of Patah was another high-ranking PLO official who joined the rebellion. As head of the Damascus-based Palestine National Council, Fahsaw is pro-Syria and nearly marginalized by Damascus. Because of his record of being able to work with all eight PLO factions, he has emerged as a strong contender to replace Arafat

as chief of the entire movement.

But Arafat remains extremely popular with many mainstream Palestinians. In Beirut's Sabra and Shatila camps, where without Christians murdered hundreds of refugees in September of last year, the exponents followed last week's fighting closely. They told reporters that they remained loyal to Arafat and to the Israel-occupied West Bank, doses of prominent Palestinians voted their support for the PLO chief. Abu Ghannam, deputy mayor of the West Bank city of Nablus until Israel removed him last year, accused Syria of financing the assault on Palestinians that Jerusalem launched last



Arafat, the rebel wanted man

Palestinian fighting was evident. As well, Syrians also continued to play a major role in the Lebanese reconciliation negotiations in Geneva. Formal talks have been suspended while Lebanese President Amin Gemayel tries to find a compromise over the controversial Israeli-Lebanese secret, which set out the terms for Israel's withdrawal from Lebanon. He was scheduled to meet Assad this week. But Syria strongly objects to the agreement, because it argues that it is too favorable to Israel. Still, there was progress last week by a follow-up committee on the key issue of reforming Lebanon's 49-year-old constitutional pact, under which the Christian minority has dominated Lebanese politics. In last week's tacit agreement, warring Christian and Muslim factions agreed in principle to parity of representation in parliament.

Despite those positive developments, fears of renewed international tensions remained high. Israel moved to seal off southern Lebanon, and Beirut newspapers speculated about U.S. plans to avenge the Marine deaths. But Washington revised a message of restraint. During a Western European tour last week, at least three of its allies—United States Secretary of State Kenneth Deane, against a range U.S. retaliatory strikes. Foreign Minister Giulio Andreotti and that retaliation "would set off an uncontrollable mechanism" is a tone that is already very hot." And both British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and French Foreign Minister Claude Cheysson made it clear that they did not want their multifunctional peacekeeping forces in Beirut to be drawn into a broader conflict.

Still, at week's end attention remained focused on Arafat's fate. After years of surprising resilience, even PLO seemed destined to split into moderate and even more militant factions. That division could lead the West Bank movement to re-open the dialogue with Hussein—a division that many of these argue should not have been tolerated. Unlike the refugees who live in Arab lands, Palestinians in the Israel-occupied West Bank want to win a greater measure of freedom, even if they cannot achieve full independence. The radicals, on the other hand, are determined to win all of the land that a new Israel, with militant PLO, Jordan, Syria and U.S. forces could possibly seize and work toward to ensure a bloody future for the Middle East as a whole, as well as for the war-torn state of Lebanon.

—Lucas McQuaide in Toronto, with David Bernstein in Jerusalem, Mychal Pfeifer in Washington and Robert Wright in Beirut.



Parade in Red Square; Andropov, searching for clues of a power struggle

THE SOVIET UNION

Is Andropov finished?

Moscow's explanation for allying Soviet leader Yuri Andropov's schemes was that he had a cold. But the 69-year-old statesman's nonattendance at last week's Red Square parade commemorating the 60th anniversary of the Communist revolution, immediately sparked speculation among Kremlinologists that he might be severely ill or preparing to surrender power. He has not been seen in public since Aug. 13, and the Communist Party newspaper, *Pravda*, quickly published a photograph of Andropov to reassure its readers. But that did little to dampen speculation among Western diplomats.

Indeed, greater information on what is going on behind the Kremlin's red brick walls is hard to find. Western experts U.S. government sources insist that Moscow's behavior in recent months suggests that a power struggle has begun. Said one official: "A parallel factor in the Soviet Union is that people start getting out the theory a guy time a leader comes in to remain in power." Still, Robert Lewand of the New York-based Center for Strategic Relations expressed a more ambiguous view: "Nobody really has enough evidence to say from that the Andropov era is finished."

Western observers are particularly interested in Andropov's health because a month-long secret power struggle preceded former Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev's death a year ago last week. The result of that struggle was Andropov's

premature removal to power. Within 24 hours he had secured the all-important position of party general secretary. And some Western diplomats contend that a similar process of elimination might be under way this time. Last week one Western official in Moscow argued that the city's mood gave no indication of a succession struggle. "In the final week of Brezhnev's rule," he explained, "the tension and uncertainty were visible everywhere, and that is certainly not the case now."

Still, the signs of strain in Andropov's appearance, perhaps a slight stiffness, perhaps to failing circulation, have for many focused attention on a successor. Three highly ambitious and potentially party leaders have emerged as possible candidates:

• Gregory Romanov, 60, is a tough party boss who made his reputation at Leningrad party committee. In January of last year, Yuri Andropov elevated him to the Politburo. He gained further credibility as Andropov's replacement on May 5, when he delivered a 40-minute speech to mark the revolution's anniversary, an honor that normally would have been Andropov's.

• Mikhail Gorbachev, 52, is the youngest member of the Politburo and, some observers suggest, he may be too young to take Andropov's job. Gorbachev's party experience has mainly been connected with farming—he is a former peasant who rents to lead the Central Committee's agriculture ministry. Gorbachev has already shown proficiency in foreign policy. After his official visit to Ottawa last May, Canadian officials hailed him for his diplomatic abilities.

• Gavril Alyagin, 60, is an Azeri who

was Andropov's built his career

in the Soviet Union. Alyagin's support that he has the support of Defense Minister Dmitri Ustinov, 58, who was instrumental in Andropov's elevation last year. Still, racial antipathy between Eastern republics like Azerbaijan and the Slavs of Russia and the Ukraine may work against him.

If Andropov gives up the post, from death or illness, he would leave a nation barely unchanged since the Brezhnev era. Andropov has shown impressive propaganda skills by stoking the fire of Western European protest against U.S. deployment of new Pershing II and cruise missiles. But, at the same time, he has been instrumental for the Geneva arms limitation talks that have been surprisingly conservative. Observers suggested that he could have achieved a compromise solution of the immensely influential armed forces had not strongly opposed. As well, Andropov's social and economic reforms have so far failed to yield anything more than superficial results. Those problems will continue to baffle any successor. The internal bureaucracies and placing committees that have hampered Andropov's attempts to streamline the economy are unlikely to budge before any other Soviet leader. And the military is certain to retain its dominance in foreign policy-making, as tensions between Washington and Moscow remain high.

Except Andropov's recent acquisition that U.S. President Ronald Reagan is a wannabe destined for the "grave book of history." Reagan's San Speech attacked the White House. Demanding the U.S. missile deployment, Reagan warned that the Soviet Union would act by with folded arms. Whatever issue the Kremlin, a change in strategy is unlikely. —JAMES MCGILL, in Toronto, with Michael Posner in Washington and correspondents' reports



The generals' lost gamble

Turkey's military rulers suffered a severe public humiliation in last week's general election. But the results did nothing to shake their fundamental iron grip on the country. Voters overwhelmingly ignored advice from junta leader Gen. Kenan Evren, who urged them to vote for the military-backed Nationalist Democracy Party. Instead, they solidly supported the Motherland Party, led by charismatic 35-year-old economist Turgut Özal. As a result, the party captured 213 of the 400 parliamentary seats. But Evren and his National Security Council (NSC) retained the ultimate power to

members of the NSC will remain in office for at least another six years. The NSC warned that it will not permit a return to the extreme political rivalries that resulted in thousands of deaths before the Sept. 12, 1980, coup. To that end, it allowed only three new political parties to participate in the vote. Although Evren received (had) at the presidential palace and praised the election results as "an expression of Turkish maturity and devotion to democracy," he is unlikely to allow any real reforms to take place.

Indeed, the junta's control of Turkish society has been absolute and often brut-

al. Amnesty International estimates that there are at least 30,000 political prisoners in the country's jails, including nonviolent trade unionists, banned leftist politicians and Kurdish activists. Critics contend that the military controls the prisoners. Not only that, but the junta maintains tight control over the nation's media. It has temporarily closed newspapers for printing stories that might damage the president. Under Turkish law such suppression of dissent constitutes an offense.

Clearly, Özal, who has great difficulty in governing effectively without alienating the military. Still, he has emerged as a formidable figure in Turkish politics. As one of Turkey's chief

economic planners, Özal rose to prominence in 1980 as the architect of a package of austerity measures designed to save the nation from bankruptcy. Within months of his appointment, inflation began dropping from 120 per cent a year and eventually fell to less than 30 per cent. Imports doubled, and Özal negotiated a rescheduling of \$3.2 billion in foreign loans. When the military seized power, its leaders were so impressed with his performance that they promoted him to deputy prime minister in charge of the economy.

The new prime minister has already begun to set his economic policy. For one thing, he will likely re-impose austerity measures to revive the economy. In recent months inflation has surged upward and exports have fallen. The standard of living has declined, and experts predict that the annual per capita income will dip below the psychologically important level of \$1,000 this year. But his most severe challenge will be to restore good relations with the junta. During the campaign, Evren expressed his disapproval of Özal by scolding him for making "sweet promises" and telling "truths." During his audience with Evren last week, Özal took the first cautious steps toward reconciliation. He effusively gratified the armed forces for having "brought Turkey back to peaceful elections after a long period of those years."

The electoral weakness of the Nationalist Democracy Party, which secured only 71 seats, will provide Özal with an initial advantage. It demonstrated that the military lacks broad popular support. Still, he will have to avoid taking any action that would further damage the military's standing and lead to a new outbreak of repression. But Özal may find that avoiding any excessive criticism of the junta is relatively easy to accomplish. Turks are often too reticent to offer candid opinions of the government's performance. Asked how he judged Evren's pre-election endorsement of the Nationalist Democracy Party, a breach of the junta's pledge not to interfere in the election, one politician replied guardedly last week, "The president's speeches are always impartial, so we did not understand it in that way."

—MICHAEL SHAFRICK in Ankara



Özal campaigning: despite a democratic vote, the military maintains effective power

propose their own direction on the nation.

Since seizing power three years ago, the junta has profoundly changed Turkey's political and economic institutions. A new constitution has stripped parliament and the prime minister of their supremacy. Now the office of president—which Evren holds—exercises broad executive powers, including the right to appoint the prime minister. As well, the charter limits civil rights and grants freedom. Last week, armed with constitutional provisions that grant the junta authority to safeguard public order, Evren announced that he was to end martial law for at least four more months. And, in any case, he and

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WESTERN EUROPE

Trudeau's crusade for peace

When Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau embarked on his nine-day West European tour last week, his aim was far-reaching. As Trudeau himself described it, he intended to provide a "jolt of political energy" to halt what he feels is the superpowers' drift toward nuclear confrontation. And as he jetted back to Ottawa from London at week's end, it was clear that he had conducted his mission with great energy. Trudeau unveiled what Canadian officials said was a comprehensive peace initiative to six government leaders and heads of state, including French President François Mitterrand and four hours with Dutch Prime

Minister Ruud Lubbers. With a call for a conference of the five nuclear powers, but details of the plan "still in the works," he declared, "I have no idea what we feel is in the superpowers' drift toward nuclear confrontation. And as he jetted back to Ottawa from London at week's end, it was clear that he had conducted his mission with great energy. Trudeau unveiled what Canadian officials said was a comprehensive peace initiative to six government leaders and heads of state, including French President François Mitterrand and four hours with Dutch Prime

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ministers are in place in West Germany, Brussels and Italy. Observers calculated that such a delay would give the superpowers added time for negotiations and buy a breathing space for the Dutch government, which faces a potentially violent public reaction if it agrees to recall missiles. But Trudeau scuttled those theories in one of his rare public comments. "I have talked of ways to reintroduce dialogue in a very tense situation," he told reporters. "They do not include a pause in deployment."

That was one of the few moments of enlightenment on the issue. Another came in London at week's end, when Trudeau promised to reveal details of the scheme on his return. Asked if he had found a consensus among his hosts, he said, "Consensus in general terms, yes. Whether on details—this is in



Trudeau with Mitterrand: Europe fully approved the initiative, but Washington and Moscow may not

road, as well as to Queen Beatrix of the Netherlands and Pope John Paul II. But the content of his tour was harder to gauge. As a Canadian diplomat in Brussels commented: "Everybody loves a peacemaker. The question is whether they had the words."

Indeed, Trudeau's hasty press conference that they had done nothing more than give him a polite hearing. Nor did the Prime Minister say anything to flesh out his proposals, announced by an Ottawa task force after the outcry over the Soviet downing of Korean Air Lines Flight 007 on Sept. 1. Before leaving Ottawa on Nov. 7, Trudeau said that he planned to propose confidence-building measures, coupled

Minister Ruud Lubbers in Brussels, Foreign Minister Leo Tindemans described the visit as an "ambitious initiative," adding that Trudeau's position as neither a European nor an American lent special weight to his voice in the West European debate. In 80% planned deployment of cruise and Pershing II missiles next month.

Trudeau's longest interview was with Lubbers in the Netherlands, the countries that is least willing to accept the missiles. The other countries committed to get the weapons are Belgium, Britain, West Germany and Italy. Some diplomats speculated that the Canadian plan might reinforce a temporary freeze on further deployment after the first

Sunday. But otherwise Trudeau travelled on tenterhooks with Japanese Prime Minister Nakasone. The Prime Minister's aides also expected him to renew the peace plan in New Delhi during the Commonwealth Conference later this month. By then it should be clear what assistance there is to his package and whether his fellow leaders are willing to act on his proposals as well as his.

PETER LEWIS in Brussels



Nakasone hosting the Japanese at his ceremony: a public relations diversion

JAPAN

Reagan's Asian connections

The original White House grand design called for President Ronald Reagan to make high-profile visits to five of Washington's stridently Asian allies. The intention is to present to American voters a picture of free-market prosperity flourishing under U.S. security guarantees. But the assassination on Aug. 31 of Philippine opposition leader Benigno Aquino caused a dramatic reassessment of the schedule. The White House hastily dropped Indonesia and Thailand as well as the Philippines capital of Manila from the itinerary to keep Reagan away from that explosive nation. Still, last week's visits to Japan and South Korea fulfilled most of the public relations objectives of the original. Reagan prepared to decide on whether to seek a second destroyer task. Said the president at the end of his Tokyo stopover: "We are giving birth to a new era in Japanese-American relations."

For Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone the visit also provided a welcome public relations diversion. Opposition parties are boycotting the Diet (parliament) to protest former prime minister Kakuei Tanaka's refusal to resign his seat following his conviction in the Lockheed bribery trial last month. And the political stalemate has forced Nakasone to announce that he will call an early election. To buttress his image as an international statesman, the prime minister has encouraged a procession of foreign leaders to visit Tokyo. West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl presented Reagan; Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau will visit the country at the end of this week, and Chinese

Chairman Hu Yaobang will follow him.

To promote the statesmanlike qualities of the two leaders, U.S. and Japanese officials carefully planned every aspect of Reagan's visit. A series of 400 U.S. Secret Service agents and 50,000 Japanese police kept the public at a safe distance. At the same time, Reagan made well-publicized—although isolated—appearances, watching baseball authority at the shrine of former emperor Meiji, greeting Empress Hirohito at the Akasaka Palace and attending, face-to-face and as many banquets. Negotiations quickly stalled, at least temporarily, on troublesome questions of bilateral trade and defense. But Reagan repeated his wish to see Japan take wider responsibility for its own defense.

In South Korea, Reagan bolstered the morale of President Chun Doo Hwan's government with very rhetoric about the KAL Flight 007 and Korean bomb tragedy. But privately he urged Chun to normalize South Korea's relations with communist North Korea, which they blame for the Reagan bombing that killed 21. Reagan also assured Chun to rule his own grip on South Korea's dissidents in order to prevent a Philippines-style revolt. The government placed other leading dissidents under house arrest during Reagan's visit. But such discordant notes formed only a small part of the massive media outpouring during the tour, which White House officials considered a successful prelude to Reagan's visit to China next April and next year's expected re-election campaign.

—PETER MARTIN in Tokyo

THE UNITED STATES

The minorities flex their muscle

Off-year elections in the United States rarely attract a great deal of public attention. Still, the results of last week's congressional and statewide referendums underscored potentially significant political trends. In several swing and gubernatorial races, the vote confirmed the growing political influence of minority Black and female candidates scored particularly well—an electoral tide that may influence next year's presidential and congressional contests.

In Philadelphia, the nation's fourth-largest city, voters elected Democrat Wilson Goode as mayor by a comfortable margin. The city's first black mayor, Goode captured a solid 57 percent of the white vote by running a low-key campaign which carefully avoided racial issues. Charlotte, N.C., also elected its first black mayor, Democrat Harvey Gantt, largely on the strength of a record turnout of voters. The mobilization of black voters is the vital springboard for Rev. Jesse Jackson's campaign for the 1984 Democratic presidential nomination. Not only that, but a leading supporter of Jackson's candidacy, Democrat Rachael Halebar, was a fifth-term mayor of Gary, Ind.

The strong performance of women last week was even more remarkable. Democrat Martha Layne Collins became Kentucky's first female governor, defeating a well-known Republican, former major-league pitcher James Bunning. Collins, 46, won by an impressive 10 percentage points in the popular vote. A former Kentucky Derby beauty queen, she may merit consideration as a possible vice-presidential running mate in future elections.

Nonetheless, most of last week's victories were Democratic, a fact that the party's leaders welcomed as a possible omen for 1984. But the one Democrat who campaigned specifically against President Ronald Reagan's record, Washington Congressman Michael Lowry, was soundly beaten by Republican Dan Daniel Evans in the only Senate seat contested. Observers suggested that the bombing murder of 100 marines in Lebanon on Oct. 23, 1983, and the domestically popular invasion of Grenada doomed Lowry's strategy. Evans' victory gave the Republicans a 55 to 45 majority in the Senate—a cushion that, with a record number of minority voters, may well be needed to prevent the Democrats from recapturing control in 1984.

—MICHAEL POWELL in Washington

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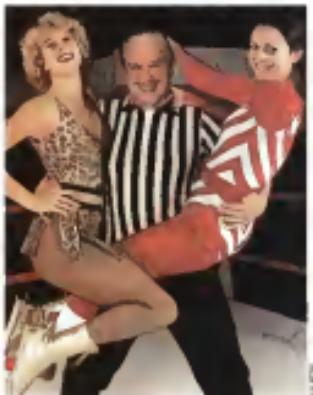
Last week 22-year-old **Cynthia Keeler** had packed her bags and prepared to return to Edinboro when she mounted the stage with 27 other contestants vying for the title of **Miss Canada 1984**. "I really don't believe that I won it," said the newly crowned Miss Canada the next day. Then Keeler unpacked her bags and quickly plunged into her new life. Her typical day begins at 6 a.m. and proceeds at breakneck speed through personal appearance and autograph and modeling sessions. But Keeler, a fitness instructor, thinks that she can catch up the pace. When she finishes her "tourist" reign, she hopes to obtain a doctorate in basic medicine and write a "quasi-autobiography" about her life. Keeler, however, has never experienced an adopted child. But for now, Keeler is looking forward to the year ahead. "Some feminists say that women should be working," she said. "And to those who feel that the pageant is negative, all I can say is that this is a job that I'm doing. Becoming Miss Canada is something many young girls dream of. Said Keeler. "I think that it is good to have a dream. It's good that some of your dreams come true—but not all of them. That's what keeps you going."

ring, which serves as a metaphor for Texu's life. Learning, who coordinated the production, acts as the referee and takes lumps along with the rest of the cast—and the lumps are not faked. *Actress Gianella Beni* sported an icepack on her lower back, an open fracture. But

Her Majesty is so gracious and
lets me feel so comfortable." Mirren,
meanwhile, is doing the wrong thing
4.

art work, as millions of Canadians took time to remember those who perished during the First and Second World Wars, former RCAF wing commander J. George Harvey paid his own personal tribute. In his new book, *The Thunder Marks*, the author of the 1982 best seller *Boys, Beasts and Brazen Sprouts* offers a collage of often humorous war stories called largely from the wartime memories of men and women in the RCAF. Harvey, 61, feels that the Canadian contribution to the British air forces—45 per cent of the total manpower employed throughout the war—is now more properly acknowledged. He is also interested about the current status of Canada's armed forces.

Harvey, who commanded his wing in 1965, says the war was being paved for the unification of the army, navy and air force and authority in defense spending were imminent. "I didn't think it would work then and I don't think it has. The planes now are older than the pilots who fly them," he said.



When he was 16 and growing up in Cottontree Bay, NS, **Warren** learned to swim off after class and jump into the local amateur swimming. When he was not swimming, he sometimes worked as a "runt" in Georges George, paying his expenses with perfume. But **Leisure's** mother had a colorful working career that a year later when she was laid out what he was doing with his spare time and, as he noted, "pleased my eelish pretty quick." Moving on to law school, learning to repair a man's degree in philosophy and worked for a time as a lawyer for the Canada Council, **Leisure** is now 45, and the artistic director of the Vancouver Playhouse. Learning to kick on the moon, building off forearm muscles and tombstone chops and revolutionizing back-breaking body plans in Tervoz, Tzum, *The Victoria Flying*, a 20-round play set aside, a resolution, woodpecker

aid Learning, now down to a
little 180 lb: "It gave me an
opportunity to get in shape again. I'm
having a good time. I'm playing
my profession." He is also
packing the stands.

Two-and-a-half years ago Toronto millionaire Eric Macmillan bought and began to refurbish London's historic Old Vic theatre, which, in terms of ticket sales, was in the "weezer" category of the Thespians—the southpaws, largely forgotten, who are Macmillan's personal heroes.

"Eric," said Alexander, "had seen the old Alexandra Theatre in Toronto and said that it, too, was 'on the wrong side of the road' when he bought it in 1962. But last winter he moved upstairs to share a box with the Queen Mother, who responded in his latest incarnation as a popular theatre with a subscription ticket sales—a novelty in England. "The audience made me very happy," and Marvuk said. "It was a whole new experience for me. It has been a real privilege to be involved in the Old Vic. Marples is so gracious and

week, as citizens of Canada and to those who have been in the service of the Royal Canadian Air Force, former RCAF wing commander J. G. Harvey paid his own personal tribute in his new book, *The Fighting Merk*, the author of the 1962 best seller *Boys, Beasts and Brassicas*. Spofford offers a collage of often humorous anecdotes called largely from the wartime memories of men and women in the RCAF. Harvey, 61, feels that the Canadian contribution to the British air arm—6 per cent of the total manpower engaged through the war—has never been properly acknowledged. He is also dismayed about the current status of Canada's armed forces. Harvey resigned his commission in 1965, when the way was being cleared for the creation of a Canadian army and a Canadian air force, and he deplores a defense spending increase. "I don't think it will work this way and I don't think it has. The planes are smaller than the planes who fly them," he said.

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Amway cracks—and pays

By Ian Austin

When Canadian government officials first charged that U.S.-based Amway Corp. had perpetrated a massive fraud against Canada Customs, the direct-seller soap king fought back with an almost religious zeal. Advertisements proclaiming the company's innocence flooded North American newspapers. Amway accused Canada of trying to start a trade war with the United States and the firm's two owners declared that they would never live in the Canadian courts because they would be denied a fair trial. But last Thursday that stance underwent a dramatic reversal when Amway's Toronto lawyer, David Hampshire, appeared before the Supreme Court of Ontario and entered Amway's guilty plea. Calling the admission a "mathematical confession of guilt," the court's chief justice, Gregory Evans, fined Amway \$25 million, the largest sum that a Canadian court has ever levied and one of the heaviest criminal penalties ever imposed against any corporation in the world.

For a company that pride itself on patriotism (the firm's name is short for the "American way"), free enterprise and advanced positive thinking, the evidence assembled for last week's trial was an embarrassing revelation. Amway accepted Crown Attorney Paul Landry's assertion that the company cheated the government of Canada out of more than \$25 million during a 15-year period by creating less "distributor prices" for exports to its Canadian subsidiary which enabled it dramatically—and illegally—to reduce the duties and taxes paid when the goods crossed the border. In reply to Hampshire's claim that Amway's owners, Richard DeVos and Jay Van Andel, are

highly respected in the United States, Evans said, "Well, they weren't very respectable corporate directors in Canada."

Amway, which started as a basement soap-selling company in 1960, has made



DeVos (top) and Van Andel
"They were not respectable corporate directors."

millions using the higher prices of goods that Amway charged its distributors. The new method meant higher tariff and tax costs for Amway but attempts at appealing the new customs assessment were unsuccessful, and the company soon turned to illegal means.

Private warehouses in the United

States were the smuggling vehicle for the plan. Amway had long used the warehouses to store goods until independent distributors picked them up. But in March, 1963, Amway decided to adopt a policy of devolving the Canadian government into believing that Amway sold products to the warehouses, which, in turn, would the goods to distributors. Although the warehouses never did purchase anything from Amway—indeed, they filled the firm for storage services—the soap company began creating fictitious invoices for non-existent shipped out to them. Amway then presented the phony invoices—which understate the merchandise—to Canadian officials. As well, the company soon drove up bogus price lists for inspection by Canada Customs. The savings for Amway were considerable, one false invoice showed a shipment of detergent valued at \$1,259.40 (U.S.) when in fact it was worth \$1,548.82. The deception, in turn, allowed Amway to cut the tariffs and taxes due by a whopping 80 per cent.

Customs about the system apparently began to build the following visit to Ada of S. A. Bokhari, a Canada Customs official. Bokhari arrived at Amway's headquarters in November, 1970, after Amway had failed to fill his requests for invoices and price lists. But Bokhari was unsuccessful. C. O. Fischer, Amway's treasurer, told him that the company was still compiling the information he had asked for and that the employee assigned to the task was off work that day. Bokhari returned to Ottawa empty-handed and did not receive the material until several weeks later. But the Canadian official's arrival at Amway headquarters set off alarm bells. An Amway employee noted in a memo to Van Andel shortly after the visit: "The danger . . . lies in the fact that our 'fictitious' invoices are not actually proof of an 'arm's-length transaction.' They give evidence of only half a transaction. A sharp auditor could request proof that the invoices were actually paid by the customs warehouses. No such proof exists."

In 1974 Amway decided that it would replace the in-store system with a new one involving a dummy corporation to be based in Hawaii called the Hawaii Distribution Corp. (HDC). Amway claimed that its role was to buy goods from Amway Canada for its imports. Amway took a series of complex measures to obscure the fact that Amway wholly owned HDC and to give the impression that the Hawaiian warehouse was an independent enterprise.

But the HDC scheme came too late. Just as Amway was planning it, the fraud was slowly falling apart. In January, 1978, Robert Wallace, supervisor of Amway's tax department, confided to an employee of Border Brokers Ltd.—Amway's Canadian customs brokers—that "all of the facts presented to the Ottawa customs people were fraudulent." Since that was the first time they had ever heard of the fraud, the company quickly began checking into Wallace's claim. In May another revolt appeared. When Arthur Anderson & Co. of Montreal took over Amway's Canadian accounting business, it soon uncovered the phony invoices and price lists. Anderson urged Amway to be honest with the Canadian government. But, instead of revealing the truth, Amway went ahead with the HDC project. Again, Anderson and Border Brokers issued warnings.

By early 1979 the sum began to unravel rapidly. First came the January resignation of Arthur Anderson as Amway's auditors. It resigned when Van Andel cut back his access to Amway Canada's financial statements and prevented it from discussing the possible consequences of the phony invoice scheme with the company's outside lawyers. Next to go was Edward Emile, Amway's chief financial officer and executive vice-president. He left when his attempts to get an end to HDC and set up a contentious meeting with the Canadian government failed. Finally, at the beginning of February, Border Brokers dropped their trade with Amway and informed the department of national revenue about Amway's auditors. That action, in turn, set off the RCMP's investigation, which resulted in last week's conviction.

Despite the investigators' best efforts, no one will ever know how much the firm cost Canada in total. Customs recently disposed of files relating to the first nine years of the crime. But the documents from the last six years alone reveal that Amway cheated the country's coffers of \$28.7 million.

For its part, Amway blames the actions of its executives on poor advice from their lawyers. The government asserted last week that it is dropping separate charges against Amway, Van Andel and two other executives. That means there is no danger of the firm's founders spending time in jail if the massive fine against the corporation will successfully cause all of their partners, save they are Amway's only owners. What is more, four civil cases seeking an additional \$10.8 million in fines and damages will still go ahead. As Evans announced last week: "I suppose when you gamble and the stakes are high, you're going to win big [but] if you lose—you lose."



John Gutfreund, former chairman of Salomon Brothers, Inc., is indicted today in Boston.

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Trading on the Japanese model

By Peter G. Newmark

BY the time they're ready to be prime ministers, most Canadian politicians have either had their original noble intentions extinguished during the long climb to power or the idealistic baggage they've acquired along the way has become so heavy that they are too wary to accept fresh ideas. Brian Mulroney, so far, suffers from neither complaint.

Having evolved from the Prince Chairing of Canada's iron ore industry to prime minister-in-waiting—within less than six months—Mulroney now feels free to make his brand of political pragmatism Canada's state religion. On the back of power, his mind is an open city weighing suggestions trotted out by his policy advisers.

Chief among them is Charles McMillan, 38, a lively academic who is enthralled by the Japanese approach to economic management, as parried to a Japanese and is considered one of the world's leading non-Oriental experts on Japanese productivity. A Prince Edward Islander who completed his doctorate at the Management Centre of the University of Bradford in England, McMillan has spent the past decade as a professor of administrative studies at Toronto's York University. His comparative studies of management styles in North America and Japan are about to be published in book form (*The Japanese Industrial System: Management Strategies for the 1980s*). "During the 1980s," says McMillan, "Bertrand-Sauveterre argued in his *American Challenge* that the superiority of U.S. companies in Europe was due to their management and organisational skills. That's not true of the Japanese. They have, for example, better pay rates than us, and 42 plants they run in the United Kingdom using their pay system." When McMillan first arrived to teach at York, his analysis of Japan was confined to the private sector but he has since been examining Japan's government mechanisms and how they tie into that country's capitalist ethic. During a recent sabbatical year in Japan, McMillan worked for one of the great trading companies, Iwaiyama, learning firsthand how they bridge the gap between business and the public sector. "In North America and Britain, public water purifying systems are isolated from and often in conflict with private sector planning," he points out. "With the private sector, banking has a quite distinct from

the equity market, and we have real trading companies. In Japan, business and government are linked for mutual benefit—the banks, industrial firms and trading companies are involved in joint planning, co-ordination and integration."

McMillan's thoughts have been more unconventional than Canadian, but he believes that this country would benefit from some fundamental changes. One is a loosening up of the banking system to allow banks to fund trading companies



McMillan: How Japan taught the Welsh

"Stop when we try acting like trading corporations—so Potash Corp of Saskatchewan did in China—we had to bring in a Japanese trading company to complete the deal. If we're going to create employment in Canada, new trading structures are the only way in." He adds and goes on to say a lot of these things," McMillan says. "Since he first ran for leadership in 1980, he has travelled around Europe, Europe, South America, China and Japan, acquiring new ways of seeing things. We

have to develop a new culture in this country that is the business sector, like The City in London, and get away from the owner-entrepreneur world of Ottawa. It's not so much a matter of government against free enterprise as filling the cultural vacuum that exists between the two."

McMillan believes that government should be reorganized into income-generating departments (agriculture, mining, forestry, industry and small business), which share such broad goals as more value-added production and creation of an improved technological base, and income-facilitating departments (labor, manpower, revenue), which should be examined to make sure they're not restraining these economic objectives.

No precise policy priorities have been set for a possible Mulroney government, but McMillan is co-ordinating a subset of the PC caucus's task forces on productivity, youth unemployment, technology, tax simplification and Crown corporations. Other areas being investigated for possible legislative action include implementation of a more realistic defence policy, privatization of some existing government services, revision of the bill setting up Canada's security service, and a probe into the real costs of capital. One alternative, McMillan is loosing at is doing away with the corporate income tax and tying assessments into personal incomes.

"We're being useful in the government planning exercise," he tells Maclean's. "Please note that in the first year the federal budget will be almost \$60 billion, non-deficitary. You could bring in Genghis Khan or the Pope and you still couldn't change things. By the fourth year we should have discretion over a quarter of the federal treasury. We have to move slowly, preserving the social act while putting more funds into job creation and economic development. In the meantime, we're probably talking only about half a dozen policy initiatives in the first year."

McMillan's ultimate objective is to provide each of the 36 executive ministers in a Mulroney administration with an operational code that would identify his or her priorities as well as the precise legislative and budgetary constraints.

Students of government know that no transition happens quite that smoothly—but it's refreshing that someone is still willing to try.



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RELIGION

Embracing Luther's Catholicism



Lutheran celebration last week in Saskatoon, a chance to draw Roman Catholic and Lutheran communities together



RONALD D. MITCHELL

By Susan Riley

While Lutherans across Canada joined in special prayer services, banquets and festivals last week, they celebrated more than the 500th anniversary of the birth of their founder. They were also acknowledging a historic rapprochement. From parishes in Saskatoon, Winnipeg and Toronto they heard Roman Catholic priests praise Martin Luther—the man who dealt the first and most severe blow to Catholic political power in Europe.

Other celebrations took place in major Lutheran communities across Canada and elsewhere, and in tiny Wymond, B.C. (population 2,900), Rev. Keith Holberg of St. Mary's Catholic Church invited the active 18-member congregation of the neighboring Grace Lutheran church to dinner. Rev. Holberg: "There has been too much animosity for too long. This is a chance to draw our communities together."

In Canada the Catholic-Lutheran dialogue is less advanced than in the United States, where there are proportionately more Lutherans. Besides, Canada's 16,000 Lutherans, the country's third-largest Protestant denomination, remain divided among themselves into three major groups and several smaller ones. Still, the Second

Vatican Council, held from 1962 to 1965, which belatedly introduced many of the reforms that Luther had agitated for almost five centuries before. Catholic theologians in Canada and elsewhere have come to see Luther not as a heretic but as a "father in the faith." They point out that Luther never left the Catholic Church—indeed, he tried to reform it. And Rev. Daniel Danoux, a Catholic theologian at St. Michael's College in Toronto, "Luther made a call to an authentic Catholic tradition, against a corrupted Catholic tradition." Adds Luther's biographer Rev. Oscar Sonnenfeld, executive director of research for the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Canada in Saskatoon: "Luther would have been at the stands applauding at Vatican II."

The high point in the reconciliation view of Luther will take place on Sunday, Dec. 15, when Pope John Paul II joins in an ecumenical service in a Lutheran church in Bayreuth—the first time he has participated in a Protestant service. He has even chosen it as a symbol that the Vatican will ever embrace all of Luther's teachings, particularly his reading of the New Testament. In a speech of papal authority, Pope John Paul has referred to Luther recently as an "informer," a radical departure from the traditional Catholic notion that portrayed him, in Democ-

rat's words, "as a learned" person. Luther earned Rome's enmity in 1517 when, as a devout and intelligent young theology professor and Augustinian friar in Wittenberg, Germany, he presented the widespread practice of tithing persons for sins—a system known as "indulgences." At the time, ascetic clerics who needed money to advance their own political power convinced large numbers of people literally to buy their way to salvation. Luther exposed this corruption at the parishes and at other clerical enclaves in his famous 95 theses, which helped to spark a religious revolution throughout Europe. His movement led directly to the Protestant Reformation, the first major split in Western Christianity. The church and the German states responded by sentencing Luther to death, but a friendly alliance of universities, clericalized him and kept him alive for another 20 years until his death at 63. During that time he married a former nun, fathered six children and wrote countless, particularly on the nature of the papacy. Luther was a spiritual revolutionary, but he was also politically conservative. He was appalled when the peasants, whom he had inspired, attempted a bloody revolt.

Still, few scholars now dispute his genius or the importance of the towering

Agnes of Christian intellectual history. So prodigious and uneven was his output that over the centuries many different political movements have claimed him for their own. Liberal academics in 19th-century Europe considered him to be a father of free thought, despite his authoritarian bent. Later, during Bismarck's era in the 19th century, he became a nationalistic figure, and in the 20th century the Nazis appropriated him, calling his anti-Semitic works as divine justification for their own racial hatred. All of those characterizations contain some truth, but none is complete. As Luther himself wrote, "They try to make me a fool star, but I am an irregular planet."

To the modern mind the most dubious aspect of his personality is his antisemitism. In a little work, *On the Jews and Their Lies*, he advocated the destruction of synagogues, Jewish homes and schools and the confiscation of Jewish prayer books. These views are a matter of deep embarrassment to most Lutherans now, and church authorities in Europe and North America have repudiated them. "It is one of the most unfortunate things he ever did," said Roger Naujokas, professor of theology at the Lutheran Theological Seminary in Saskatoon.

On the positive side, Luther's theory of "justification by faith" still commands respect. It is a key element of Protestant belief, and an international Lutheran-Catholic communion endorsed it in 1989. The doctrine rejects the widespread belief of Luther's time that a person could earn salvation through good works and instead states that faith alone is necessary for salvation. Last month a Catholic-Lutheran communion in Milwaukee, Wis., affirmed Luther's view (with careful hedging by the Catholics) and, as a result, received a major boost in unity.

As the rediscovery of Luther continues in the public eye, yet another image is forming—one that emphasizes his adherence to Catholicism. Said Sonnenfeld: "He is not so much the founder of a denomination as of a movement within the Christian church." In fact, Catholic and Lutheran services are now almost becoming indistinguishable. The new Catholic mass, with its use of English, communion of bread and wine and more democratic format, is almost unrecognizable. Still, important differences remain, notably over the papacy and priestly celibacy.

But the next generation of Catholics and Lutherans will probably be taught to regard Luther as a unifying force rather than a divisive one. That is a transformation that the venerable Augustinian's reputation will no doubt survive as easily as it has all the others. ♦

HEALTH

VDTs and the brain



McLaren, Ziegrosz, operator: VDTs may cause a clash between brain hemispheres

Video display terminals have been in general use for 12 years, but the technology still causes concern among many of the 700,000 people who use VDTs across Canada every day. Workers have blamed VDTs for health problems ranging from headaches and eyestrain to backaches and depression. Some researchers believe that radiation emissions from VDTs are responsible for the batteries of ills to have so far been attributed. Now, two Canadian researchers say the problem is not radiation but the effect of VDTs on the brain.

Last week Frank Ziegrosz, professor of communications at York University in Toronto, and Eric McLellan, a communications consultant and the son of the late communications theorist Marshall McLellan, announced a theory that relates VDT-induced stress disorders to a clash between the right and left hemispheres of the brain. Said McLellan: "Usually, one or the other side of the brain is dominant. When someone is forced to use both sides together, what you get is a war in the brain. The result is severe stress."

Ziegrosz and McLellan say that the images on the video screen stimulate the usually controlled or right side of the brain, but the language or information as the screen appeals to the left or verbally controlled side of the brain. The common wisdom experts have their theory on a study conducted among six patients using VDTs as well as just

communications theorists, including the work of Marshall McLellan. Said Eric McLellan: "More than 80 per cent of the people we talked to described a sense of disorientation after being on the machine for a period of time."

It is not clear whether or not the split-brain theory will supplant the radiation theory. Ziegrosz and McLellan hope to gather more data to support their claims. But most evidence points to radiation as a more likely cause. If, indeed, VDT use has any relation to illness at all, Hart Shanks, a nuclear chemistry professor at the University of Waterloo in Ontario, has conducted radiation and VDT studies across Canada for the past two years. Said Shanks: "I have tested more than 3,000 terminals, and my research shows that there is a strong correlation between illness and terminals that emit a high level of radiation." And he added, "If the brain theory is correct, it would mean that everyone who uses a VDT would become sick. This is not true."

Shanks noted that he has no conclusive evidence to prove his theory wrong. "It points out an very important thing," he said, "and that is that much more research needs to be done in this area." For those Canadians who wonder what effect the glowing screens are having on their bodies, it seems that there are still more questions than there are answers. ♦

—SOPHIA MCKAY in Toronto



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MEDIA WATCH

War is hell, but it is also good television

By George Bain

The violent public response to *War*, the seven-part National Film Board series that has just wound up on CBC-TV, is enough to prove it's a bad name. On the face of it, plain, old, unassuming, unglamorous war would seem to belong on anyone's short list of subjects least likely to command a large Sunday-night audience. Not only is it serious, with a capital S, but it is unpleasant. Guyane Dyer's *War*, the endearing message of which is that there is an extremely high chance that the universal "we" will yet succeed in uprooting all evil, should have sent people to bed after the first episode with the covers over their heads. An old *Julius Caesar* survival it is not.

Yet the Nielsen ratings of the first four segments, all that are in so far, indicate an audience of more than 1.3 million for the first, just over 1 million for the second, just under 1 million for the third, and back up past 1.3 million for the fourth. A possible interpretation of this up-and-away pattern is that a lot of people were attracted to the first by curiosity whipped up by good advance notices, that a natural falling off then occurred, but that at the same time the message began to get around by word of mouth that something compelling was going on, and more new viewers tuned in. Whatever the explanation, 1.3 million viewers put *War* in such requested company as *The Journal* (1.6 million) and *The Nature of Things*, the science show with David Suzuki (1.3 million).

War was few years in preparation and cost \$3 million, but not as much things go. It was made with an eye firmly to paying its way, by resale abroad and, for a start, a deal is just about ready to be signed with PBS in the United States. Seattle will be the only international. Talks have just begun in England, Australia is being looked at, and there are hopes of marketing the series in at least Germany and France. Western Europe. These efforts are assisted by *War* having been chosen best series overall by the public jury, and second by the international jury, at the documentary film festival at Nyon, Switzerland, in October.

Of several incidental effects of the series, one is to have made a public personality of Guyane Dyer, a 40-year-old military historian, whose journalistic

who has lived outside Canada—he is a Newfoundlander—most of the time since 1968. That is when he went to King's College, London, to do a PhD in military history. Dyer either wrote himself or collaborated in the writing of all the seven one-hour segments. He presented them all on camera, and the impact of the series even a bit to his crisp and bald writing and the even, unscientific, sometimes ironic this-is-the-reality-as-I-see-it message, which is more adversary than pacific. "We simply cannot afford to pay the price of war at all any more. There is nothing in the world that is worth blowing the world up for."

Dyer has been writing a column on international affairs from London for 18 years this month. He now has 200 clients around the world, an astonishing number for what he calls "a cottage industry", his wife, he says, wishes he would remove his cottage industry from the kitchen counter. He was involved with *War* for all four years, the last two of those full-time, largely on the road—shooting was done in 19 countries—flying home on weekends to do the editing. Dyer had done a military series at CBC Radio in 1969 which, while not travelling the same ground, was the genesis of the TV series, but and now he has been unique to the cameras. The success of *War* should also be a boost to the career of 31-year-old Michael Bryant, whose idea it was that the radio series be made a follow-up for a film documentary and who shared the direction and production of several episodes.

The large effect of *War* may be to herald the re-emergence of the National Film Board on the large national stage. The new was use of the ornaments of public enterprise in Canada, from the days when, as the NFB's president says, governments took films around the country and showed them in church basements pretty well said the advent of television. The CBC, naturally wanting no part of the NFB, preferring to concentrate documentary production in its own hands—an attitude it has never completely got away from. Now, with public policy pushing for more Canadian content in CBC programming, for more outside production and for more of that to come from the film board, *War* stands as a splendid demonstration of there being something to be gained from it. □



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Hemingway, Roberts; Robertson (below); this subject was the world of stardom

FILMS

The death of an innocent

STAR 80

Directed by Bob Fosse

The death of Canadian Playgirl and actress Dorothy Stratton in 1965 sent shock waves throughout North America. Her husband and manager, Paul Sader, who discovered her in a Vancouver Dairy Queen when she was only 17, shot her through the head with a rifle and then killed himself. At the time, both Stratton's career and her private life were blossoming: she was in the midst of making her first big Hollywood movie, *They All Laughed*, and having an affair with its director, Peter Bogdanovich. Sader felt jilted and abandoned, even though Stratton had become successful through his efforts. He remained a small-time operator, reporting the background behind the news story in *The Village Voice*, journalist Terence Carpenter made it clear that the world of stardom was the real culprit. The article, for which she won a Pulitzer Prize, serves as the basis for Bob Fosse's *Star 80*, a slick, grueling chronicle of the playgirl's brief encounter with fame.

In his retelling of the events leading to the murder, Fosse is severely critical of a system that can take an innocent teenager and abuse her soul

while dazzling her with glitter. Dorothy Stratton (Muriel Hemingway) was an innocent, and, in her own way, an was Paul Sader (Steve Roberts). As Stratton expresses during one of the many press interviews sprinkled throughout the narrative, Playgirl girls "welcome, fresh, young and naive." But Stratton, according to Fosse's script, did not seek out celebrity; her main ambition in life was to please others, especially Sader. When she begins to discover herself and the enjoyment of her own freedom, the star system supporting her, which relied on her passivity, crumbled.

The raw material of *Star 80* is shocking, violent, sexy and highly melodramatic, but the part of Stratton herself is missing. Though Hemingway had breast implants for the role, she simply doesn't measure up as a Playgirl of the Year. Stratton, as avowed from her performances in *They All Laughed*, possessed a shy, tentative, vulnerable quality not unlike that of Marilyn



Monroe. Her features, like her manner, were delicate—not the square-jawed, big-bosomed looks of Hemingway, who walks like the truck driver she played in *Personal Best*. She does portray effectively Stratton's transition from an overwrought Cinderella to a knowing, sexual woman, and she makes the most of a line when she says to Sader, "I have a feeling I'm going." Still, sympathy for her would be more heartfelt if there were less of the gossipy, gangling country bumpkin in her performance.

What is left of the show is stolen by Roberts as Sader, an insurance broker who feels betrayed by the viracious excess he has created. In one respect, *Star 80* is a masterpiece of art, and it works on the level through the sheer power of Robert's performance. The art he embodies is hollow, but his reasons are understandable. Roberts, who was outstanding in the under-rated *Stayin' Alive*, believes Sader is Dorothy's Muse, reveals Sader's every motivation. When he looks in the mirror just after working out in a sauna, he is sad, disgruntled and seeking confirmation of his own worth from the reflection. Everything he does—the way he dresses, writes his love, how he speaks—is an avenue to approval. And he is obviously a star. Stratton, when he photographs her, has the same sense of pure appreciation. She is probably the only thing in his life that he has ever owned. It is unfortunate that the film never delves into his background to support an art-support that fact.

Posse (Columbia, *All That Jazz*) is a bawdy disaster and he gives the story of *Star 80* with a number of this techniques. He flashes forward to the murder at crucial dramatic points, which gives the film pace and density. And he breaks up the narrative, as Warren Beatty did in *Reds*, with interviews with people who knew Stratton and Sader, a device that simply interrupts the story. Some scenes seem clipped in vision, especially the Playgirl magazine sequences presented over by the smoothly patriarchal Hugh Marlowe (CFF). Robert's *Star 80* is a stinging, aggressive film, much too concerned with making an impact. It succeeds on a superficial level but it never explores the recesses of both Sader's and Stratton's minds. It remains a pumped-up melodrama when it could have been a genuine tragedy.

—LAWRENCE O'TOOLE



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VOLKSWAGEN

A feeble monument for posterity

THE ORESTEIA OF AESCHYLUS
Directed by John Wood

In the final season of the National Arts Centre English theatre company, artistic director John Wood has tried, unsuccessfully, to erect a shaming monument to his memory. As the grueling program notes make clear, The Orestesia by Aeschylus is one of his most solidly artistic creations. Translations of the plays abound, and the four-hour NAC production is in fact the world premiere of a reworking from other translations by the late American poet Robert Lowell. But, neither Lowell's colloquial lyrics nor the work's immense problems require adequately compensate for Wood's flat, naive interpretation of Aeschylus' challenging work.

Viewed from the late 20th century, the Greek playwright's treatment of human psychology, steeped in poetic images of snarling wits, pouncing snakes and bloody carnage, evidently transmutes cultural boundaries. But the tragedy grows out of specific time and place—Athens—there—the transition from the end of an age to a rational system of justice—reflects the social evolution of the Greek city states. At the same time, The Orestesia in passes to male supremacy and is surprisingly callous to contemporary sexual politics.

The tragedy begins with Clytemnestra's slaying of her husband, King Agamemnon, and it builds to a momentous question: should their son, Orestes, be killed for avenging his father by murdering his mother? In the final debate, the female Furies, intent on avenging Clytemnestra's maternal blood, claim that Orestes' crime is greater than hers because he killed a blood relation and she did not. But the goddess of justice, Athena, judges that the man-

deities are equivalent and, as a result, she rejects the ancient principle that blood ties take precedence over all others. By forgiving Clytemnestra and persuading the Furies to serve her, she also embraces the male principle of reason as the law of Greece—and Western civilization.

Kate Best plays Clytemnestra like a

naïf, softies Ross Hather's words cannot soften Ross Hather's words, a strength which does serve him well later in the role of Apollo. On the other hand, Daryl Shurter's callow Orestes embodies the play's most vital part.

Although The Orestesia's spare set invites the lavish special effects devised by the NAC production team, their efforts are wasted on Wood's pallid direction.

The ultimate victory of Apollo, god of reason, over Dionysian blood-guilt means nothing if the wine god's fury and lust do not first inflame the characters. The off-stage murder of Agamemnon and his crewmen, "I have been stabbed," are textbook examples of the terror that tragedy is supposed to instill, but Holmes Hewitt's weak cry is about as stirring as "Coffey's an' I." Wood repeatedly avoids classicism in favor of pretty pictures verging on the sentimental. At the end, the cast assemble, holding candles and chanting "Let the good prevail," an embarrassing hub-back to the "light a match for peace" rituals of 1960s rock concerts.

Wood's lack of control diminishes the NAC's loss in 1996 of its English theatre company, following a recommendation of the Applebaum-Hibbert report that the NAC should only showcase productions from across Canada. Its dismantling is particularly unfortunate because the centre's specialized presence highlights the tragic irony of Clytemnestra's position: although its mission, the one only completely respected by acting like a man does, the women, especially Diana D'Acquisto as the doomed prophetess Cassandra, are as strong, and the casting of men to play parts in the female chores of Furies is unnecessary and thematically confusing. Gender, both real and invented, is crucial in The Orestesia. Aeschylus emphasizes the effeminacy of Clytemnestra's love, a harshness, but frayed cards and a hand-

—MARK CHABROK



Howell, Jim Marchman. *The end of an era* at the National Arts Centre

A stylish jazz institution

LEBBONISH IN LIVING
Miles Allison
(Mosaic/WCA)

Picking up where Hailey Carrickhead's hemisphere tour left off in the 1990s, Miles Allison's gentle blues piano and conversationalistic vocal voice have made him a minor jazz institution. Unfortunately, few of Allison's solos capture the power of his material or his improvisational energy, so *Lessons in Living* received live at the 1993 Manitoba Jazz Festival, especially welcome. Backed by an all-star ensemble including bassist Jack Bruce and drummer Billy Cobham, Allison expands on his usually tidy and brief songs. *I Don't Worry About A Thing*, *Seven Seas* and *Night Club* feature lots of rhythmic piano work by Allison and some stirring Eric Gales guitar solos. Throughout the album, Lee Donaldson's sensitive work on alto saxophone shifts among singing from Allison. *Lessons in Living* is an excellent introduction to a fine singer working up to the standards of his deserved reputation.

SWORDFISHTHEDOMINOS
Tom Waits
(Island/WCA)

After losing his gravelly vocals to François Dugal's all-fused musical, *One From the Heart*, and surviving to tell the tale, Los Angeles singer Tom Waits continues to use life as a sleepless circus. In his tales of lost souls on the dingy side of town, such as *Frank's Wild Years* and *Soldier's Blues*, he mixes the blues with literary lyrics derived from hard-boiled fiction of such writers as Charles Bukowski and William S. Burroughs. Against a backdrop of an instant movie-jazz organ, all-drum percussion and erratic blues guitars, he wraps himself around the theatrical melodies as if they were the last breaths on earth. Governed by the spirit of jazz in jazz, *Swordfish* remains in an uncompromising serving of Waits' sharpest storytelling.

LOOK FOR THE SILVER LINING
Alberto Hunter
(ECM)

At 86, Alberto Hunter is a musical maverick. Since he came out of retirement in 1977, Hunter has made four albums, and each has been stronger than his predecessor. Hunter rose to prominence in the 1960s with stage appearances, club

hours. The result is a triumphant synthesis of jazz, swing and blues bl�ues which spans the incredible range of Hunter's style. Hunter combines great fervor (*Now I'm Safeguarding a Child*) and campiness (*Chorus, a First for Her*), sensuality (*Sex, Blue*). Men the beauty of having a lover "for my personal use" and plain common sense (*Wiseass*). Hunter celebrates a practical woman's pleasure in *My Favorite Doubts*. His growl-up, urban, evocative and deeply rooted the tradition of female pants-singing can be Alberta Hunter's legacy living proof.

—MARK TERTA

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ENVIRONMENT

A tree grows in the Arctic

These straggling tree seedlings growing in a senior civil servant's garden may be a first step toward the greening of the Baffin Island community of Frobisher Bay. The town (population 4,000) is 1,800 km north of Quebec City and about 60 km beyond what is commonly regarded as Canada's tree line. Said Frobisher Bay Mayor Maurice Jodoin: "Reforestation here is a matter of four stories high. A lot of the children have never seen trees."

Indeed, Andrew Yates, manager of Canada's environmental management for Bell's Island, Melville Island and the high Arctic, was concerned that Freesbee children might never see trees. As a result, he planted tree seedlings near his Frobisher Bay home at the end of September. The municipality is moving more than 60 other trees until they can be planted in the spring.

To determine what tree species would have the best chance of surviving Frobisher Bay's dry soil, Yates consulted the University of Alberta in Edmonton. Forestry scientists Bruce Durst and Karen Daniels recommended four varieties: Balsam fir, black spruce, black jack pine and Siberian larch.

The provincial tree nursery in Oliver, Alta., was able to supply all of the species except black spruce, and Yates picked up 24 seedlings in each of the three available varieties in Edmonton in September. Twenty other Frobisher residents are keeping seedlings in their houses until the freeze-up in April or May, and the remaining trees are stored in building houses in a former jeweler's store.

But Durst and Bellon at the university's department of forest science are worried that moisture will evaporate from the plant needles and that the frozen ground will not be able to rehydrate it. The Siberian larch has the best chance of survival, they say, because these trees lose their needles during the winter. The scientists are also concerned about Baffin Island's notorious ice storms, which involve 180-m.p.h. winds and can last for two or three days. Commented Helman: "I am generally negative—it is a long shot." But the town is more optimistic, and the municipality has already set up a committee to pick a permanent site for the trees.

—DAVID HELMAN in St. Thomas, Ont.

COMPUTERS

Chasing high-tech thieves

The calls were becoming a nuisance. Someone had managed to gain access by telephone to an Alberta company's computer system and was tampering with its files. The same sort of unauthorized access is destroying computer systems throughout the continent. In most cases, investigators never find out who is gaining access to a company's information bank. But in the case of the Alberta invasion, the police had more success. With the help of Bell Canada and its tracing techniques, they located the source of the侵入性 calls—a computer terminal on the campus of an Ontario university. Investigating officers spoke to a student but didn't levy legal charges when he took into the possibility that others were involved.

Increasingly, police are pulling out all the stops to combat the new phenomenon of unauthorized computer access. Last month in Washington a Federal Bureau of Investigation court affidavit suggested that

part of a search warrant revealed that the agency was using a "trap and trace" method to track down intruders who used the telephone to read the electronic mail of 12 Federal clients, including the National Association and Space Administration and Coca-Cola USA. The FBI techniques, which the affidavit said allowed investigators to identify the origin and times of the intrusions, has so far narrowed the search to 16 locations around the country. Said FBI spokesman James Mall: "It's the same techniques basically as when you have a tap on the line for a kidnapping case."

In Canada telephone companies continue to do the same kind of tracing for their customers as far back as they suspect that someone is tampering with a computer system. But John Darby, head of security for Bell Canada, said he suspects that many companies do not even report unauthorized computer access to police for fear of losing their customers. Instead, many such companies are turning to consulting firms such as the Toronto-based Corbusas Computer

Security Inc. for advice on improving security. Corbusas President Colin Ross said that computer intruders would never have become a problem if organizations had established proper access controls to their systems on the first place. Darby agrees: "The data telecommunication network is like the street leading to the house," he said. "You have to make the bank more secure, not the street."

Security measures range from issuing users one password, to requiring that they answer obscure personal questions each time they sign in at a terminal. But only a minority of computer installations—about 10 per cent, Ross estimated—has "everywhere access" adequate access controls. Meanwhile, the federal government is not relying on companies alone to solve the problem by making their own systems inviolable. It is still not illegal to gain access to a computer without authorization, but Justice Minister Mark MacGuilligan recently said that he plans to introduce such legislation during the session of Parliament. With security tightening and penalties increasing, the stakes are getting higher for the "hackers"—the mischievous young computer addicts who break into systems just to show that they can do it and the juvenile computer criminals alike.

—PATRICK HAGHT in Toronto.

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EDUCATION

Guaranteeing jobs to grads

North American colleges and universities, faced by declining revenues and escalating costs, have been forced to climb down from the ivory tower. Balance sheets in hand, they have turned increasingly to sophisticated marketing techniques to attract more students. This fall, for the first time, The Brown Mackie College in Salina, Kan., a for-profit business school, will be using such techniques as money-back guarantees of a job.

Brown Mackie's job guarantee is not impressive. Located in rural Kansas, the school last year placed 85.9 per cent of its 175 graduate programs ranging from business to engineering. Recent reporting Dean of Instruction Bill Edwards certifies the success to a 100-per-cent placement, though officials have chosen an industry boards. Explains Edwards: "Traditionally, students set career goals. One way keeps the faculty involved with the real world and the people we are trying to train for." In order to claim a tuition refund of \$1,300 (U.S.) per trimester, students must prove that they have been ready and available for work.

No Canadian community colleges are offering guarantees currently, although several have indicated that they might consider the scheme. Brad Marilyn Day, director of information services at Scarborough's Centennial College, "Last year 76 per cent of graduates in the Ontario community college system had found jobs. The year before, the numbers were 90 per cent, so the recession is obviously affecting us." But Holland College, a business school in Charlottetown, has managed to continue to place 85 per cent of its 800 full-time students in Alberta, Lethbridge Community College boasts an 80-per-cent placement rate for its graduates.

It is not likely that Canada's community colleges will soon adopt the money-back scheme. For one thing, almost all of them are turning applicants away. And with their emphasis on practical training programs focused on future jobs, most business-oriented colleges are as far putting their graduates to work. For their part, Brown Mackie officials are satisfied with their experiment. Said Edwards, "We feel this is the highest form of educational accountability you can get."

—MARGARET CANNON in Toronto

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MUSIC

Nova Scotia's new symphony

It was a black day for the arts in the Maritime provinces when, on Sept. 30, 1982, the Atlantic Symphony Orchestra folded under the weight of debt. Its 60 full-time musicians were as shocked as its fans to hear that the symphony, with a 14-year history of touring a region in which violinists are more readily identified as fiddlers, could no longer support a running deficit of \$400,000. Now, after one year of backroom salvage operations, the Halifax cultural community is celebrating the birth of a new symphony. With a benefit performance on Nov. 24, Symphony Nova Scotia will begin what could be a prosperous first season. Said one board president Bruce Flemming: "It is a very, very important that people not hold back and see what is going to happen to the symphony. If they do that, they run the risk of not having an orchestra for the next number of years."

Flemming, a 46-year-old corporate lawyer and former policy adviser to Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, says that the new symphony will learn from its predecessor's mistakes by appealing to a larger audience. Leading that campaign will be new artistic adviser Boris Brott, who also serves as music director of the Hamilton Philharmonic and as artistic director of the Stratford Music Festival. Brott, 35, acquired popular support for the Hamilton, Ont., symphony by taking it, along with Beethoven and Tchaikovsky, into residential malls, parks and schools, and Haligonians are hopeful that Brott's magic will work in their city.

In addition to casting a wider net, the new symphony will carry a smaller payroll in its first year. The orchestra will permanently employ a core group of only 14 musicians but it will have more, if necessary, for final engagements. The symphony also will accept corporate sponsorships in its early years.

For the 1983-84 season, Brott has scheduled a strong "beginner" series in addition to classical and chamber music. While the artistic program is set, the fund-raising is still falling into place. The Nova Scotia government has dedicated \$250,000 for the season, and the 25-member board of directors has raised a contribution to raise \$200,000 in the next year. However, the Canada Council is still debating the merits of its donation. For his part, Brott bears a good measure of optimism. Says Brott: "There is no doubt in my mind that there is going to be enough support for a symphony in the community."

—MICHAEL CLAYSTON in Halifax



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TRANSPORTATION

Computer-age travellers

The pilot of the Boeing 747 was listening to the reassuring beep of navigation information in Morse code and the drone of weather reports on his cockpit when a lead Boeing suddenly dived down out of the clouds. He removed his headset, went back in to the passenger area to investigate and found several travellers engrossed in an extreme poker game. The pilot switched the machine off and returned to the cockpit, where he was relieved to discover that his reception was clear again. Incidents like that one, aboard a flight heading into Chicago's busy O'Hare airport in 1980, convinced the North American airline industry to put severe restrictions on passengers' use of electronic games and portable computers in flight. But now, an increasing number of complaints from computer-savvy travellers, combined with technological improvements in newer computers, has convinced the industry to rethink those restrictions.

Battery-powered computers came out on the North American market only three years ago, when Compaq Computer Corp. introduced the first model. But they quickly became popular, and since then a variety of manufacturers have sold hundreds of thousands of units. Because of the increased use of portable computers by travellers, Air Canada has joined several U.S. carriers in asking for a study of the problems that new-model computers pose to commercial aircraft. The airline recently asked a Washington, D.C.-based private organization, the Radio Technical Commission for Aeronautics, to produce guidelines on acceptable levels of interference. Stuart MacLeod, Air Canada's manager of avionics engineering, said that once reliable standards are set, "the computer manufacturers could insure travellers that flight attendants would know immediately whether a device was acceptable."

MacLeod said that he has records of several incidents, like the one in Chicago, in which a passenger's electronic device appears to have interfered with navigation equipment. Federal regulations in Canada and the United States ban against the operation of portable computers in flight, and at least one carrier, Eastern Airlines, bans their use outright. But Air Canada relies on asking individual passengers not to use them. Air Canada and other airlines also discourage or forbid the use of portable telephones, televisions, walkmans, electronic games and radios, but allow heart pacemakers, hearing aids, electric razors and hand-held calculators.

If the Washington agency does not produce the guidelines quickly, MacLeod said Air Canada will consider approving computers that use a lower-power liquid crystal display, similar to displays on some digital watches. He and others in Air Canada's rule have

shown that outside the tube displays, which resemble television screens and use high voltages, can interfere with navigation receivers. For its part, CP Air is offering wall-mounted videotapes on many of its flights but will not allow passengers to use their own players.

For the growing legion of portable computer users, the chances of getting permission to switch on in midair are clearly improving. "We do not feel too concerned about the safety aspect," MacLeod said. "I am sure we can come up with a form of approval for some kinds of possible computers."

— GLENNA STOCK in Toronto



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LAW

A push for scholars

With an average 3,000 new law grads graduating every year, many with little hope of finding jobs, Canadian law schools have been under pressure from provincial law societies to reduce the numbers. Recently, a joint report by the Law and Lowercase added fuel to the controversy. The two-year study, by a group of legal experts headed by Fred Harry Arthurs of Toronto's Osgoode Hall Law School, concluded that lawyers are both over-educated and under-educated, trained too well for day-to-day tasks, such as drawing up mortgages, which paraprofessionals now do, and yet not educated broadly enough to deal with such pressing needs as legal reforms. Early next month lawyers and legal educators from across Canada will meet

Canadian law schools emphasize the teaching of legal codes but they 'ignore or denigrate' the scholarly approach

in Ottawa to debate the report and its recommendations. Said Murray Fraser, one of the contributors to the report and former dean of the University of Victoria's law school: "It is a question of moving in a broader analysis of the law in society."

Currently, the legal group says, most law schools emphasise the teaching of doctrine. But the institutions "ignore or denigrate" the scholarly approach to law. As a result, Canadian law students tend to gravitate toward courses that they think will prepare them for practice and, as a result, they fail to develop the research skills needed for law reform. To rectify the situation, the report's most controversial recommendation suggests that law schools split into two streams: academic and professional. Said Arthurs: "It might shock off some people in an allegedly crowded market because it would generate a natural student constituency for law teachers with scholarly interests."

Most law professors agree that schools need to inject more scholarly content into their curricula and make learning for its own sake more attrac-

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But the report's strong words and some of its recommendations have upset members of the legal establishment. Some professors believe that a two-tiered system would create first- and second-class lawyers. What is more, since most law schools in the country have only been associated with universities for 30 years, Michael Trebillock, who heads the University of Toronto's Law and Economics program, fears that the switch would reverse that achievement. "It would soon go back in time," said Trebillock, "and turning two-thirds of each law school into a trade school."

Making the transition from practical to scholarly may also be hampered by a shortage of Canadian legal literature. Explains Edward Vetch, dean of the University of New Brunswick's law school: "In the United States there was a great law of legal writing in the 1930s and 1940s. We have not been able to do the same thing despite sharing similar educational structures." Adds Trebilock: "It has only been in the past 10 years that competent texts in many basic areas of Canadian law have even emerged." Many schools would also find it inexplicably expensive to implement the proposals. Said Peter Burns, dean of the University of British Columbia law school: "We have to be realistic. In British Columbia we are under retrenchment." Last year, for example, students at the University of Toronto voted to pay an additional \$10 a year in tuition in order to maintain the upkeep of the law library.

But there are interim measures that might make the transition easier. One solution is to introduce more so-called "clinical" teaching. Instead of the traditional method of extracting and teaching rules from particular cases, some legal scholars suggest that schools combine an application of legality with a more general perspective. Said William Charles, dean of Dalhousie University's law school: "Hopefully, the clinical method will soon attain internationality." Added John McLaren, dean of law at the University of Calgary and chairman of a national committee of law schools in Ottawa: "Clinical education at its best bridges the gap."

Still, the report has caused some re-thinking. At UBC, for instance, the report has influenced the law faculty to seriously consider as house of commons what would now research skills without splitting the school into two parts. But for the moment at least, change will not occur quickly. Says Arthur: "It requires the building up of graduate schools and research facilities." It will also require a profound change in existing legal attitudes.

—SCOTT BLUMFELD in Toronto



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A VERY PUBLIC LIFE, VOL. I

By Paul Martin

(Doubleday Publishers, 424 pages, \$24.95)

In the first volume of his projected two-volume autobiography, Paul Martin, the veteran Liberal MP, editor, minister and diplomat, tells of a 1960 encounter with Sir Robert Borden. The elderly former prime minister was seated at a hotel desk, framed with invitations to various official functions. "If I were Mackenzie King, I would tie these cards with a red ribbon and put them in my archive," he said. "But I am not Mackenzie King." With that, he immediately swept them into the trash bin. That scrupulous detail in *A Very Public Life* proves that, in saving bits of paper, Martin is obviously aware of a King was then a Borden man.

The initial memoir does not reveal Martin's brilliant career as a senior public figure. He will chronicle that part of his life in the second instalment, picking up the thread in 1947. Instead, the first volume painstakingly documents a less prominent and powerful

public life. Despite a certain long-windedness, the recollections are genuinely affecting, and there is much that is historically valuable.

Born in Ottawa in 1903 and raised in Penobscot, Ont., Martin was the small-town boy who made good, graduating from Osgoode Hall Law School, then Harvard and Cambridge. His first foray into politics as the Liberal candidate in a 1928 by-election in North Renfrew ended in defeat. Later, as a rising lawyer, he moved to just outside Windsor, Ont., an area that's still new auto plants were beginning to make prosperous.

By the time he was elected to the Commons in 1935 for Essex East, he had acquired a knowledge of labor problems which served him well politically.

When he entered the Commons, Martin was relatively far to the left of the Liberal party. He recalls that King "did

not give the appearance of being in command of political events" and that there was no indication "that the party leadership was about to adopt the views [Martin] espoused." But by the 1950s Martin appeared more laudable than progressive, an image that his trademark blue suit and formal style helped to foster even though his ideas had not changed. Throughout the memoirs it becomes apparent that Martin was really a liberal politician with a conservative personality.

The same man who consistently supported labor causes was offended at the site of the famous muckraking case, the charlie public status in Brussels. Undoubtedly, the book hardly acknowledges much less explains that dichotomy in Martin's personality. Indeed, throughout his highly detailed reminiscences, Martin consistently mentions, but never actually describes, his labor life.

For all his desire to set down his early days tall, Martin seems in a hurry to get on to the second volume. Those looking for insights into important political matters will undoubtedly share that impatience. —DODD FETHERLING



Martin on self-doubt

A rebel's disputed hanging

RIEL AND THE REBELLION

1885 RECONSIDERED

By Thomas Flanagan

(Western Producer, 177 pages, \$19.95

hard-cover, \$12.95 soft-cover)

For those Prince Minister Sir John A. Macdonald suppressed in his execution of Louis Riel in 1885, the Métis leader has been a source of intense controversy. In recent decades many historians have argued that Riel was a maligned figure and they have praised his bravery, idealism and dedication to his people. Edmonton independent MP William Yorke has introduced a private member's bill in the Commons proposing to grant Riel a posthumous pardon. According to a brief presented to the federal cabinet by the Association of Métis and Non-Status Indians of Saskatchewan, Riel "committed no illegal act." The federal government is still entertaining discussions on a pardon, but Thomas Flanagan, a political scientist at the University of Calgary, opposes it strongly. In his political Riel and the Rebellions, 1885 reconsidered, Flanagan accuses Riel of "self-seeking virulence" and he claims that he "got what he deserved, a traitor's death."

Flanagan should know his subject well. Not only has he edited Riel's diaries and poetry, but he has also written a biographical study focusing on Riel's unorthodox religious doctrines. He has, as new book is an analysis of the rebellion of 1885, when Riel inspired the Métis and Indians north of Saskatchewan to revolt against the federal authorities. Riel even set up a provisional government.

Unlike many historians, Thomas Flanagan feels that Métis leader Louis Riel received what he deserved

not to negotiate with Ottawa. The rebels had many causes, but the issue of land rights was basic. Riel believed that people of mixed blood were the rightful owners of the North-West Territories. As well, he fails to point the remainder of Brooks's sentence: "charged with robbing the Métis by his gross neglect and callous indifference." Such suppression amounts to manipulation of the evidence.

So determined is Flanagan to display the Métis in a bad light that he can dismiss them for showing "little sympathy for [the government's] problem of

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rule enforcement." But the rules of land settlement and property ownership were created on the other side of the mountains for the benefit of future settlers belonging to another language and religion. Flanagan seems irritated by the Métis' unwillingness to comply with their own laws. Economic and social forces created by white men were destroying the fabric of Métis society, and Riel's rebellion can be understood only in the context of what Flanagan himself, in *Leaves "Dated" Red Prophet of the New World*, an artist, less biased book, called "the contradictions of his people's way of life."

Riel, like, was a flawed leader, ambitious and perhaps deservedly by poverty and neglect. Flanagan demonstrates with relish what most previous writers have preferred to gloss over: not only did Riel want the government to give land and money to the Métis, but he also asked for a large personal fee. But an infusion of imperial motives does not mean he deserved to hang. Even the jury of white, English-speaking Protestants recommended mercy—a request which the government ignored. As G. F. Stanley, Riel's most thorough biographer, wrote, "That there might possibly be mitigating circumstances, that both the Métis and the Indians might have legitimate grievances crying for remedy was overlooked in the demand for vengeance against those who had slaughtered white men in cold blood." Plasticoff's book provides just proof that a century after Riel's death the sentiment still lingers.

—MARK ASHLEY

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"Gulf Canada offers six suggestions to help get Canada going again."

John Stoik
President and Chief Executive Officer,
Gulf Canada Limited

Canada seems to be emerging slowly from the worst recession since the Great Depression. Some of our recent economic woes were part of a world-wide pattern. Many were self-inflicted, or at least worsened by economic policies we chose to pursue. These policies were all too often the product of confrontation instead of consultation among the key groups - government, labour and business.

Now, while the memories of the human suffering and financial hardship are still fresh in our minds, let us apply the lessons we have learned.

Surely business, government and labour can agree on the components of a program that will keep economic recovery moving and, equally important, help keep us from getting into trouble again.



John Stoik

The Macdonald Royal Commission on Economic Union and Development Prospects for Canada is in the process of developing a long-range comprehensive economic development policy for Canada. But the implementation of policies driving from the Commission report is several years away.

At Gulf Canada, we believe that government, labour and business can agree now on components for an immediate post-recessionary economic renewal program. Here are six suggestions:

1. Recognize that Canada is a trading nation.

We are a trading nation in a world that is becoming increasingly competitive. Almost 80 percent of our Gross National Product is generated by exports to other nations.

We are also becoming increasingly interdependent with many other countries, largely because we have adopted the policy of reduced import tariffs under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

With greater openness comes increased competition and industrial dislocation. During a time of economic recession this has made protectionists look more appealing. But when you build walls to protect yourself against aggressive competitors, you can end up living in a self-made prison. In this sort of international environment it is critical that Canada improve its trade and investment relations.

2. Encourage productivity growth.

More liberal trade arrangements mean greater competition and hence improvements in efficiency. Yet from 1971 to 1981, Canadian productivity gains were at the bottom of a list of 21 nations - a sad performance for a trading nation.

Clearly, the productivity problem is more complex than simply asking Canadians to work harder.

It takes a well-trained labour force combined with sound management and modern production facilities to create a strong productivity perfor-

mance, to produce goods that are consistent with Canada's relative advantages and with the competitive markets we face.

The way in which the factors of production are brought together depends on the mix and priorities given to major policy initiatives including international trade, competition, labour, energy, financial and other policies, as well as a clear articulation of the size and role of the Government sector in economic affairs.

3. Encourage capital growth.

We need to encourage savings and investment. We also need to encourage firms as well as domestic capital.

In recent years, investment from other countries has been discouraged by the enormous and unpredictable nature of our Foreign Investment Review Agency. At least that is how it is seen by many foreign investors.

To fully support a thriving economy and ensure its steady growth, Canadians will need investment help from other countries. And it is vital that foreign investors be reassured that we need and welcome their money.



Workers in the Beaufort Sea are forced ashore for rest and recreation after two weeks of work on the drilling. It is hard work - but it is safe, and it pays well. Many thousands more jobs can be created if Gulf Canada and other members of the petroleum industry are given the right tax incentives and other financial incentives to invest in exploration. And when we find oil, everybody benefits.

4. Build on our strength.

In resources - particularly energy.

Canada has a great wealth of natural resources - especially in the energy segment.

And the oil and gas industry, within the energy segment, has a massive resource base. What is more there are markets in Canada for immediate production and nearby export markets should our discoveries exceed our needs.

In 1980, the industry was poised to make some of these energy demands constructive for Canada. In doing so, we would have been able to significantly soften the impact of the economic recession upon Canada. However the industry's development plans were undermined by the National Energy Program.

To quote from a study published by the non-partisan C.D. Howe Institute:

"The NEP was introduced to Canadians as a solution to the nation's energy problems. It promised to unite Canadians and to make them prosper. In its first two years of existence, the NEP has proven to be a major disappointment. New energy challenges

are emerging that are quite different from those the NEP was designed to deal with.... A reexamination of Canada's energy objectives is already underway."

What can we do now to turn the petroleum industry around?

Gulf Canada's suggestions are detailed in another message of this series.

But to begin with, we must look beyond the current levels in world oil price and world oil supply and demand - look ahead to 1990 and to the year 2000.

Crude oil and natural gas will still be a vital percentage of the world's energy supply. There will be a need for Canadian oil and natural gas.

We have the resources to develop, the commitment to develop them must be made today.

5. Recognize and utilize the strengths of the private sector.

The Federal Government says that it now recognizes and intends to use the strengths of the private sector.

The words are more conciliatory these days. Yet the government con-

tinues to change the rules in the middle of the game, particularly in matters concerning the oil and gas industry.

This further compounds the atmosphere of uncertainty in which the industry has had to operate since the introduction of the National Energy Program in 1980.

6. Restrain and control government sector growth.

The Federal Government's budget deficit widened to \$2.3 billion in the 1983 fiscal year ended March 31 from \$1.6 billion in the previous year, with the deficit for the current fiscal year now being estimated at \$3.2 billion. The need for restraint and control is self-evident.

The need for consultation

We have noted earlier that many of the policies that contributed to our recent economic woes were the product of confrontation instead of consultation.

To maintain our current economic recovery - and to plan realistically and constructively for a world beyond economic recovery - we must foster genuine co-operation among business, government and labour.

To that end, Gulf Canada has proposed new approaches to three-way consultation and recently we have seen some encouraging initiatives including formation of the National Productivity Council. Without such genuine consultation, we may be doomed to go spinning our wheels, missing opportunities and - at worst - reliving the experience of the last two years.

If you would like copies of a recent speech on this subject by John Stoik, President, Gulf Canada Limited, write to:

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ABC: Global and independent stations,
Nov. 20

On the evening of Nov. 18 church vans throughout the United States for study and support sessions about the effects of nuclear war—all under the title of *The Day Before*. The following evening ABC as well as Global and some independent stations in Canada will telecast *The Day After*, an already notorious, 3½-hour, made-for-TV movie. After all this, 45-movie producers, there will be no commercial interruption; spectators are understandably reluctant to wedge their commercials among the haunting horrors of a depiction of the Third World War and its aftermath. *The Day After* is undeniably powerful and just as topical, but a *Love Boat* situation and a nonresistential queen since the Second World War days of gallant Mrs. Miniver subvert the ghoulish serenity of its themes.

In the previous, less-waiting-through-the-air one-liner summer day in the triangular prairie town of Lawrence, Kan., a senior physician (Glen Keane) wanders his wife (Ginger Lynn Jackson) on a double bed. Other couples, including their parents and gay kids, head to movie theaters and radio reports of a looming superpower clash along the borders of divided Germany. Suddenly, and deep below the beautiful wheatfields of nearby Missouri, which also about their hexagonal caps to discharge a monstrous cargo. Country housewives peer from second-story bedrooms, and children grow wide-eyed as lateral missiles

ascend on pillars of fire. At the same time, rival weapons from the frozen steppes of Siberia point toward America's breakfast. Then *The Day After* begins at 10 minutes of utterly savage footage of nuclear destruction.

The first blinding tank visits��athomas on the freeway, blinds and bystanders and confounds the last survivor of plutonium canistercasts. The firestorm descends with the heat of searing, charring, searing X-rays before vaporizing them. Not even the frozen ashes and dust remain. In 30 minutes the banting and prosperous northern Metaphor lurches back to the conditions of the 14th century when all of Europe reeled under the scourge of the Black Death. Purchased families die up in coffins with robes and ratites. Survivors, burned and bleeding from radiation poisoning, stalk the roads dazed in rage. What Jonathan Schell, in his antinuclear book *The Fate of the Earth*, calls "the death of death" details continually.

Unfortunately, the use of unabashed sensuality as the shapeliest antidote to the extinction of the species strangely trivializes the issue. But despite its inanities and vulgarities, *The Day After* brings to attention a catastrophe most people would like to ignore. The film ticks the obsession and daring of such Special Editions turned earlier this year—about as set of attention-getters that resulted in a disaster. But its entire premise hangs by the repeatability of mass extinction: exists and its progeny won't.

—BILL MACLEAN

Urgent schemes for survival

When the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission ignored the voice of the television industry last year and imposed six pay TV networks instead of one, it deserved that the pugile of the free market was preferable to the soft bed of monopoly. Media forecasters warned that splintering the small Canadian marketplace could prove disastrous, and as for the sad, nine-month history of pay television has borne out their predictions. CTV has failed, and others, including the Atlantic regional network Star Channel and the national network First Channel Communications, are fighting for survival. Late last month, First Channel sent the already jittery industry into an uproar by requesting speedy approval for an \$8-million bailout by a group of investors. As First Channel representatives told a court hearing in Hull, Que., last week, the cash-starved company needs an immediate transfusion. Burdened First Channel lawyer Peter Grace: "If you look up the word 'urgent' in the dictionary, yes will find the First Channel tag."

At week's end, the CRTC still had not delivered its verdict, but it seemed almost certain to approve the proposed Astral Believe Path, property of the wealthy Greenberg and Rivaughan families, leads the investor group, and their plan sets which grows through the industry. The loudest protests came from First Choice's main rival, Superchannel, owned by Edmonton millionaire Dr. Charles Allard. Although neither network has met its growth target, Superchannel, licensed originally to operate in Alberta and Ontario, has recently gained a large market share at First Choice's expense. It threatens to emerge as an even stronger opponent with its bid to expand into Manitoba, Saskatchewan, British Columbia and the Northwest Territories, forming a telekinetic network of regional licensees. After trying unsuccessfully to delay last week's hearing, Superchannel now faces a tough battle, which experts predict could end in the death of one of the two networks within a year.

First Choice originally won the coveted national license, in part because of what President Donald MacPherson called "big pockets" of its investors. But having negotiated about \$10 million to start First Choice and an additional \$1-million in shareholders' fees last summer, the owners appear to have quickly reached the bottoms of their pockets: they now owe \$6.6 million, including a staggering \$3.6 million to Ca-

nadian producers. The new deal offers generous terms to the purchasers; if they exercise all their options, Astral and related companies could end up with 68.6-percent control of First Choice, far an investment of about \$14 million.

Despite its financial difficulties, First Choice is an attractive investment for Astral, the country's largest independent film producer (Paramount) and distributor. But because of the anticompetitive implications of the proposed takeover, a number of independent producers and distributors and industry associations object. They fear that Astral will inevitably become the dominant supplier to First Choice, both as the sole Canadian distributor for 20th Century Fox and as a major supplier of Canadian productions. Said filmmaker Alain King, representing the Canadian Association of Motion Picture Producers: "With that transaction, we are creating a major studio in Canada—and we would only have one major." Superchannel, which depends on Astral as a distributor of U.S. films and as a Canadian producer, fears the loss of a major supplier. Joe Shua, chairman of Superchannel's Ontario division, told the CRTC: "These assets could jeopardize our survival."

On the other hand, about 30 Canadian film-makers, many of them creditmen of First Choice, argued through written submissions to the CRTC that the demise of the network would severely jeopardize their survival. With roughly \$25 million invested or committed to Canadian productions, First Choice has provided a major stimulus to the beleaguered industry. In fact, First Choice concentrated its subscriber growth to such a degree that it overcame its production and advertising shortcomings. The company tried to change that by launching a \$10-million advertising campaign this fall. Still, many Canadian producers, such as the highly respected Prima's Productions (*The West*), will likely fly out of business if First Choice does not pass its debt. Said President Pat Fair: "If First Choice goes under, it will drag a lot down with it."

For the record, the date of both First Choice and Superchannel bids in the hands of the CRTC, Superchannel will present its bid to become a transnational network at another CRTC hearing later this month. If it succeeds, the two networks will be competing in a national market that may expand may not only support a single service. So, Toronto entertainment consultant Paul Andley: "Either the two networks will merge or one of them will die." If that's true, the free market may well lead to a monopoly after all.

—GILLIAN MACLEAY in Toronto, with Montreal Read in Ottawa.

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When the Gotliebs entertain

By Allan Fotheringham

Marshall McLuhan and John Kenneth Galbraith have been described as the two most famous Canadians in the two most famous countries in the United States ever produced. The neophyte, as always in this country, can't understand why he can be ignored with such disdain. It is a matter of the American way and one that we usually accept. Official Washington, therefore, can't quite figure out what to make of Sandra Gotlieb, wife of Wissner, one of the sharp-tongued and sharper pen. Waves of Canadian ambassadors are not supposed to act like a mess between Lucille Ball and Dorothy Parker. They are not supposed to be able to draw the cream of Washington society to intimate little dinner parties for 80. The Great White North is supposed to be dull, dull, dull. What goes on here?

What goes on is that it is informal Washington that is dull. The rules of behavior are written down like a papal bull. Everyone arrives at parties at the same time and everyone leaves at the same time 6:30 early, since they must get up early and lead the Free World. Allan and Sandra Gotlieb, when they were in Ottawa, used to throw some of the best parties in town in their big Rockcliffe house because they used a Minstrel when choosing the guest list: a smorgasbord of politicians who were witty (a scarce commodity), journalists who owned a "te" and did not drink out of the finger bowls, and a snippet of the swivel servants with the most interesting wits. By transforming the same simple recipe to Washington, the Gotliebs have hit town with a bang. A Wissner has Sunda, shortly after his arrival, turned to a man at one of her parties and asked, "And who are you?" replied Caspar Weinberger. "You guest of honor."

Such events would spell fiascos for some Washington hostesses. Instead, they have created a sort of instant fame for the perfectly wide-eyed Ms. Gotlieb, who affects an air of constant confusion but actually is watching the world with the careful eye of a small Allan Fotheringham is a columnist for *Southern News*.

surgeon. The author of two novels—one that made fun of her Jewish upbringing, the other dealing with a political career, and another about a woman in high diplomatic places—she first hit the headlines in Washington when she said that because no one paid any attention to Canada, "we should be allowed to South Dakota or somewhere." (A friend pointed out to her later that to invade South Dakota, Canada would need paratroopers.) The *New York Times* and *The Washington Post* went wild over her power and a syndicated "letter home" detailing her supposed innocence to no



public friend "Poppy Triibble" has just had its debut. In a placement in the *Post*, Ms. Gotlieb said she had discovered the basic rule for advancement in Washington: "Kick below, suck above." Allan Gotlieb, a former Rhodes Scholar who went to Oxford with John Turner and has the detached air of a professor, smiles quizzically to himself and goes about the business of perusing the guest list.

This night, in the big embassy residence on Rock Creek Drive, a room filled with gold-tipped trees opposite, a big car on constant guard against terrorist parades outside, the occasion is to honor handsome Peter Jennings, a Canadian who has just been appointed and's sole anchorman, at a reported \$800,000, and A. Fotheringham of *Heisen*, says Senator Patrick Maynard, his white name brushing his forehead, covers over all. Kay Graham, owner of *The Washington Post*, looks like, well, like someone who would own *The Washington Post*. The guests are dangled by the creases filled with Name-

tags. No one in Washington knows there was a caravir in Manitoba. (No one in Washington knows there was a Manitoba.) Secretary of Commerce Michael Blodgett, a strong, shaggy dog, has the look face of a rough hand—so if he had wandered into the cocktail circuit by accident. As a hobby, he builds canoes in canoes. It undoubtedly is useful in the Bechtel cabinet meeting.

Big Greenfield, editorial page editor of the *Post* and owner of the back page of *Newswheel*, is petite and bright-eyed. Robert McNamee, vigorous and fit at 67, wears black breeches with his toreado flattop. After viewing the J.F.K. cabinet, Lyndon Johnson concluded that the scariest of the best and the brightest was "the guy with the stickers on his hair." The stickers serve as his obsession now in nuclear war. There is Kenneth Adlesack, Reagan's new disarmament man. Richard DeVos, the gatekeeper to the Oval Office, has a most charming wife, Lane Kirkland, head of the AFL-CIO, is northern, mild and considerate. There is Senator John Heinz, television's Robert MacNeil, an understudy of state, a few international travellers, state department types and enough goons to fuel a Roma

high-level dinner.

David Brinkley drops in for a drink but can't stay for dinner. He'll never know about the canapé—or Marinda Elizabeth Drew, *The New Yorker's* Washington correspondent, darts about in search of a cogget Joseph Kraft, the syndicated columnist, does not have to be invited.

Everyone in Washington wears black.

A Canadian who wears a secret love tie with his hat is regarded oddly, as if he might just have fallen off his RCMP horse. A whirlwind of activity wherever she goes is Brenda Nurris, John Turner's sister, who flew down from Montreal for the party. There is William Rockelmann and Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board Paul Volcker. Ron Arledge, head of ABC News, who is trying to bully Peter Jennings into taking over U.S. ownership, wears black boots. Just an ordinary night at the Gotliebs. Not a single person wore a lampshade.



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